DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 404 958 HE 029 981

AUTHOR	Lazar, Mark, Ed.
TITLE	Fortifying the Foundations: U.S. Support for Developing and Strengthening Democracy in East Central Europe.
INSTITUTION	Institute of International Education, New York, N.Y.
SPONS AGENCY	Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, New York, N.Y.; Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia, PA.
REPORT NO	ISBN-087206-236-8
PUB DATE	96
NOTE	140p.
AVAILABLE FROM	IIE Books, Institute of International Education, P.O. Box 371, Annapolis Junction, MD 20701-0371 ($12, plus $2 handling).
PUB TYPE	Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120) -- Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Tests/Evaluation Instruments (160)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Civil Law; Civil Liberties; *Cultural Exchange; *Democratic Values; *Exchange Programs; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Institutional Cooperation; International Law; Nonprofit Organizations; *Philanthropic Foundations
IDENTIFIERS	Albania; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bulgaria; Croatia; Czech Republic; Eastern European Studies; *Europe (East Central); Hungary; Macedonia; Romania; Slovakia; Slovenia

ABSTRACT

The East Central Europe Information Exchange collects and disseminates information on exchange and training programs undertaken with American private and governmental funding. This study focused on programs related to democratization and civil society. An introductory section defines the parameters, background, and research methodology; lists the funding agencies involved; and summarizes some of the survey results and conclusions. Next, the section titled "Perspectives" presents four essays: (1) "Exporting Legal Reform and the Rule of Law to Central and Eastern Europe" (G.H.W. Baker), which highlights assistance efforts devoted to legal reform; (2) "U.S. Support for Nongovernmental Organizations" (Katherine Cornell Gorka), which reviews the history of U.S. assistance to nongovernmental organizations in East Central Europe; (3) "Building Democracy at the Local Level: The Case of Poland" (Joanna Regulska), which illustrates with a case study many aspects of a program of assistance to local governments; and (4) "Promoting and Protecting Human Rights: A Model for Technical Assistance to NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe" (Edwin Rekosh) presents a model for assisting the development of non-governmental organizations fostering human rights. Section 2 of the report includes a sample project survey; and various types of program data, such as organization by primary field of activity, type of project, funding, and contact person. Appendixes contain a list of Soros Foundation and Democracy Network programs and 12 references. (CH)

ED 404 958

U.S. Support for Developing and Strengthening Democracy in East Central Europe

Edited

IAE029981

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Institute of International Education

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

Fortifying the Foundations:

US Support For Developing and Strengthening Democracy in East Central Europe

Mark Lazar, Editor

Institute of International Education
809 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017-3580

Copyright ©1996
by the Institute of International Education
All rights reserved.
ISBN: 087206-236-8

Fortifying the Foundations

Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 4
Mark Lazar

INTRODUCTION 7
Mark Lazar

SECTION I: PERSPECTIVES 17

Exporting Legal Reform 17
G.H.W. Baker

US Support for Nongovernmental Organizations 23
Katharine Cornell Gorka

Building Democracy at the Local Level 32
Joanna Regulska

Promoting and Protecting Human Rights Through Development 40
Edwin Rekosh

SECTION II: PROGRAM DATA 47

Project Survey Sample 48

Programs and Connections 51

Program Listing 71

INDEXES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations by ECE Country of Activity 96

Organizations by Field of Activity 100

SECTION III: APPENDIXES

A – Soros Foundation Programs 105

B – Democracy Network 109

C – Selected Bibliography 111

Executive Summary

by
Mark Lazar

Since 1989, various private foundations and governmental agencies in the United States (US) have embarked on projects to assist the economic and political transition in East Central Europe (ECE). A substantial portion of funding activity has been devoted to training programs that support the development of democratic institutions. Together with their partners in the region, these US public and private initiatives have sought to lay the groundwork for the development of ECE institutions that support the rule of law and civil society. To date, however, only limited steps have been taken to inventory these programs and analyze their role in assisting the economic and political transformation in the region.

The aim of this project is simple and straightforward: to survey training programs undertaken with funding from American private and governmental resources which have sought to develop democracy and the rule of law and civil society and to provide an initial assessment of the role these projects have played within the transformation process. We believe that such a study is a critical step toward measuring the impact of these programs and will be of benefit to funders, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and policy makers in East Central Europe and the United States. As funders, NGOs, and policy makers shift their focus from East Central Europe to the Newly Independent States, it is hoped that the lessons learned here will be applicable to future programs.

The New York-based Institute of International Education (IIE), with its East Central Europe regional office in Budapest, undertook this project

For purposes of this report, East Central Europe is defined as the region that includes Albania, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Given constraints on survey funding and timing, the Baltic States (usually counted among ECE countries) are not included in this study.

Mark Lazar is the Institute of International Education's Regional Director for East Central Europe.

as part of its East Central Europe Information Exchange. Initiated in 1991 with funding from the Ford Foundation, the Information Exchange has sought to serve the academic, philanthropic, and public policy communities in the United States and East Central Europe by collecting and disseminating information on exchange and training programs, and identifying issues and trends which are important to funders, NGOs and other institutions active in the region. Initially, the project focused on academic programs and university linkages. Its first product, co-sponsored with the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), was Barbara Burn's *Raising the Curtain*. In 1992, the Information Exchange published: *Where Walls Once Stood: U.S. Responses to New Opportunities for Academic Cooperation with East Central Europe*, by Mary E. Kirk. In 1994, IIE, together with the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) in Vienna, published *Continental Responsibility: European and International Support for Higher Education and Research in East Central Europe*, Mary E. Kirk and Aaron A. Rhodes, editors. The current study, with funding from The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, has shifted the Information Exchange's focus towards training programs related to democratization and civil society.

IIE collected information on 227 training programs that are active or were active during the period, January 1, 1990 - December 31, 1995. The resulting study includes a program catalog, analysis and detailed reports on specific sectors. From the data, the following results have been gleaned:

• *The majority of programs have been undertaken by US NGOs or ECE NGOs.*
Nonprofit and nongovernmental organizations have played the central role in project development and administration. Other institutions which have administered projects include universities, corporations, operating foundations, think-tanks and government agencies.

• *Of NGOs, programs were evenly split between US organizations and ECE organizations.*
In the first years of the transition the majority of programs were undertaken by US organizations. However, in recent years there has been a clear shift towards programs which directly support indigenous NGOs.

• *A majority of single-country programs (approximately 75%) took place in the northern tier countries (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary).*
The northern tier countries continue to receive the most support.

• *Poland is the single largest beneficiary with 34% of all single-country programs.*
The primary reasons for this phenomenon are the size of Poland (the largest country in the region), its strategic importance to the United States and the active Polish-American community.

• *Regional or multi-country programs accounted for approximately one-third of all programs.*
In a region with many small countries, the economies of scale dictate that regional programs will have a greater chance of being cost-effective.

• *There has been a fundamental shift in the focus of funding between 1992 and 1994.*
Before 1992, most programs concentrated on developing the basis for democratic government and basic democratic principles. In 1994, we begin to see a second phase of democracy building initiatives that focus on developing indigenous NGOs and a more responsive local government. Correspondingly, more projects have focused on areas outside of the capital cities.

Based on the survey results, it was determined that four major fields have received a majority of attention from US funding sources. IIE thus commissioned detailed analytical reports in these four areas in order to provide the reader with further insight. The first article by G. H. W. Baker provides a background sketch on the field of legal reform, one of the largest areas of US assistance especially during the first years of transitions. Included within the field of legal reform is legislative drafting, judicial reform, legal training and similar initiatives. Katharine Cornell Gorka then gives an historical sketch of assistance to NGOs and explains the reasons why NGO development has become a major focus of US assistance efforts in the last few years. Third, Joanna Regulska presents a case study for the development and implementation of programs in local government; and finally, Edwin Rekosh presents a model for assisting human rights NGOs to develop in a sustainable manner.

From the survey findings and the detailed analytical studies, several general conclusions can be drawn to guide funders and other institutions as they develop future programs in East Central Europe or shift their focus towards the Newly Independent States. They are the following:

• *Long-term sustainability is the key measure for determining the success or failure of a project.*
The program must be sustainable after outside funding has ceased.

• *The involvement of local partners is essential to the success of the project.*
The local partners should be involved in all phases of the program, including project design and evaluation.

• *Projects should continue to develop capabilities outside of the capital cities and at the grassroots level.*

• *The needs are greatest in the southern tier countries and war-torn regions of the former Yugoslavia.*

The Institute of International Education offers this publication as a resource and a tool for those parties working to promote democracy in the region, and we hope it will serve as a guide for developing future programs in the region as well as inthe Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

The ECE Information Exchange is a project of IIE's regional office for East Central Europe. This office, located in Budapest, Hungary, was established in 1990 to assist the development of international education, academic exchanges and professional training programs in the region. The Regional Director for East Central Europe works with universities, foundations, corporations, the US Information Service, US Agency for International Development, the Educational Testing Service and local government agencies to establish exchange programs, provide technical assistance and enhance the dissemination of information on US higher education and training opportunities.

Mark Lazar, Regional Director
IIE - East Central Europe
Vigyázó F. utca 4 II/2
1051 Budapest
Hungary
Tel: (36-1) 132-9093
Fax: (36-1) 269-5436
E-mail: mlazar@iie.hu

Introduction

by
Mark Lazar

Many observers of the East Central Europe scene have noted the chaotic and overlapping quality of democracy assistance. Funders often do not have enough information on the programs funded by their colleague organizations, nor do they have sufficient data to guide future policy decisions. Conversely, programming organizations are missing valuable opportunities for cooperation and assistance simply because they lack information. Indeed, one could speak of an "information gap" between programs and the information available regarding them.

This "information gap" is understandable and expected given the urgent nature of such programs during the early years of the transition. There was no blueprint or model for building democracies from the ashes of socialism. Funding agencies and programming organizations saw a clear and immediate need and moved to fill it. However, as we approach the seven year anniversary of the demise of the Berlin Wall, it is time to take stock of what has happened and what still needs to be done. The data now exists to evaluate the results of democracy building initiatives and make a blueprint for future program initiatives in East Central Europe and the Newly Independent States. This study is offered as a critical step in the process of evaluation and planning.

Mark Lazar is the Institute of International Education's Regional Director for East Central Europe.

PRIMARY AUDIENCE

This study aims to be a resource and tool for funding agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in both the US and ECE as they attempt to evaluate past programs and develop future projects.

Funding Organizations

The study seeks to assist funding organizations to better identify programs and areas in need of their assistance. It is hoped that through this publication funders will be able to obtain information about similar programs funded by other organizations, to learn about current trends in funding and to assist future programs which will have a maximum impact. Though this study is specifically oriented towards funders in the United States, other national, European and international funders will also benefit from the catalog and related articles.

US Nongovernmental Organizations

The study will assist US NGOs which either operate in the United States or in East Central Europe, who would like to improve the effectiveness of their work in the region. The information in the study will help NGOs to develop new programs, improve existing ones and locate funding. It will also help to improve cooperation between US NGOs and their colleagues in the United States and East Central Europe.

ECE Nongovernmental Organizations

The study hopes to improve regional cooperation and networking between ECE NGOs. By providing information on a regional basis, it is hoped that cooperation across boundaries will be improved. At the same time, the publication seeks to provide information about possible areas for cooperation with US organizations. In short the study aims to be a tool for funders and NGOs on both sides of the Atlantic to increase their effectiveness and increase cooperation and networking on both an East-West and East-East basis.

THE PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY

Before beginning this type of study it is important to define the basic terms and parameters of the study. What program fields are covered in this study? What are democratization programs? What is rule of law? Civil society? What is considered a training program? What types of projects have been undertaken?

This study seeks examine programs which either directly or indirectly support the democratization process in East Central Europe. Program areas include civic education; NGO development; human rights, minority rights and conflict resolution; the development of democratic government (i.e. political party development, election issues, etc.); public administration and local government; development of an independent judiciary; legal education; and constitution and legislative drafting. The development of journalism and an independent media is another important field of democratization programs; however, because of the wide variety and the large number of programs in this area it is not included in this study.

All of the included programs in some way attempt to enhance the climate in which democracy can flourish. Free elections and a multi-party system are just the initial step toward democracy. For a democratic system to grow and prosper, government must be based on the rule of law and moderated by an effective civil society. However, developing the rule of law and civil society is a complicated process. Not only do governments need to transform themselves, rewrite laws and develop new constitutions, but a sustainable third-sector must exist which can monitor governmental activities, protect human rights and provide services for the population. In addition, education must also be transformed in order to train future leaders and citizens who are familiar with their rights and equipped to participate in the democratic process.

Rule of law is the theoretical basis upon which many democratization programs have been realized. But, what exactly does the rule of law mean? In its simplest sense, rule of law refers to a society and political system that is based on law and not personal power. In a society that is governed by the rule of law, laws are developed with the consent of the governed and are based on impartiality and fairness. Likewise, information is openly accessible and widely available.

Civil society is one of those widely-used but not well understood terms. In general, civil society refers to groups that act independently of government and usually without profit motives. They are the layer of society that provides the basis for the citizen to participate in the democratic process and at the same

time protects the rights of the citizen against the excesses of government. Its importance for democratic development in East Central Europe cannot be underestimated. Vaclav Havel, the President of the Czech Republic, best summed up the importance of the civil society for the development of democracy in East Central Europe during a 1994 speech:

> *To put it simply, a modern democratic state cannot consist merely of a civil service, political parties, and private enterprises. It must offer citizens a wide variety of ways to become involved, both privately and publicly, to develop very different types of civic coexistence, solidarity and participation. In a richly layered civil society, a vital and inimitable role is played not only by the organs of administrative and nonprofit organizations, but also by the churches, trade unions, and a broad array of civic associations, groups and clubs. All of this together is what creates the life-giving environment for politics and its main components, political parties. A genuine civil society is, moreover, the best insurance against various kinds of social tension and polititcal and social upheaval. It makes it possible for various problems to be solved immediately, when and where they arise, before they turn septic somewhere under the skin of society and fester to the point where they might have a dangerous impact on the life of society as a whole.*[2]

Beginning with the rule of law as a theoretical foundation but only applying these ideas to the development of democratic practices, you will be left with a weak foundation for democracy. Civil society is the missing building material; it is the mortar that helps to strengthen democracy. Thus, in assisting the democratization process, you must include all the components that are necessary to support democratization–basic democratic principles, rule of law and civil society.

But, having defined the principles and goals of most democracy building initiatives, how does one go about achieving them? In general, there have been five major programmatic techniques: training, technical assistance, direct support for institutions, information collection and dissemination, and research. The vast majority of funding has gone to the first two types of projects. However, I would argue that most technical assistance projects have been a form of training. In technical assistance projects, technical experts provide group or one-on-one training (sometimes formally and sometimes less formally) to those individuals and institutions with which they work. The training may not take part in a workshop or similar form, but the end result is the same.

For the purposes of this project, "training" has been defined in its broadest terms. This programmatic technique includes many traditional areas such as workshops, seminars, academic studies (that are professionally oriented), internships, etc. However, for this study, the field of training has been widened to include several indirect methods. The study includes conferences that have been organized around specific purposes (i.e. annual or general conferences are not incorporated). Also, programs that involved expert advisors are also covered in the study, as these programs often indirectly provide training to ECE individuals and institutions. Publications and research studies have also been included if their main goal is to create training materials (e.g. the development of training materials is incorporated, but general studies on democracy are not).

BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

IIE began collecting information for this study in Spring 1994, by contacting the major governmental and private funders in the United States and requesting information on the grants they have given in the field of democratization since 1990. From this information, we compiled a preliminary database of over 400 democracy building programs.

It is important to note that this project attempts to track projects and not organizations. And, thus, one organization could have numerous projects. In addition, this study endeavored to collect information from major governmental and nongovernmental donors in the United States. Indigenous funding sources and those efforts by other countries, the European Union or international organizations have not been included in the study.

On the basis of the initial information collection phase, theIIE - East Central Europe regional office formulated a program survey in order to obtain more information about the projects. This survey in-

cluded basic information such as type of organizations, field of activity, type of project, country, funding, etc. The survey also contained questions which were more analytical in nature. For example, what was the motivating factor in developing the program? What is the final aim of the project? What are the most significant achievements and greatest obstacles? (A copy of the survey form can be found preceding Programs and Connections.)

In addition to obtaining important data about each project, the survey aimed to provide information which would point out general trends in assistance efforts. Who are the major funders? Who are the major recipients of funding? What fields of projects have been most heavily funded? What are the overall goals of these projects? Where have the achievements been greater? What are the essential ingredients for a successful program? What have been the main obstacles?

In the Fall of 1994, IIE sent project survey forms to approximately 300 organizations. In the first round, approximately 70 survey forms were returned. On the basis of the response and the initial data, we refined our database further to include only those projects which were clearly democracy-oriented and training-related. With this revision, the database included approximately 250 programs. We then sent a second round of surveys by fax to those remaining organizations that did not respond during the first round. In the second round, we obtained several more completed surveys. In cases where the organization did not return a survey, we attempted to collect as much information as possible about the project from the funders and other resources.

In Spring 1996, after further refinement of the database, we sent the information that we had collected to the administering organizations for verification and requested that they inform us of any corrections that needed to be made. We have made every attempt to provide the reader with the most comprehensive and current information. However, in a region as dynamic as East Central Europe, this type of information is constantly changing. It is inevitable that information is missing or incorrect. I apologize in advance for any such occurrences.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The study aims to provide factual information on programs and funders as well as provide perspectives and analysis on the nature of US governmental and private assistance to East Central Europe. The study is composed of four major sections: Perspectives, Program Data, Indexes, and Appendixes.

Perspectives

In the process of collecting and compiling the program information, it became apparent that four fields have received major attention from funders seeking to support democratization in the region. These fields are legal reform, NGO development, local government and human rights. Thus, we sought to provide some more background on programs in these areas and invited experts to provide additional insight and analysis on the assistance effort in these fields.

"Exporting Legal Reform and the Rule of Law to Central and Eastern Europe"

This first article provides background on one of the single largest areas of US assistance, legal reform. Legal reform encompasses efforts to rewrite constitutions and legislation, develop an independent judiciary, reform legal education, and create an atmosphere in which the rule of law can flourish. G.H.W. Baker, a lawyer who spent over three years in the region working on legal reform projects, discusses the high and low points of assistance efforts in this area, highlighting some of the major programs.

"US Support for Nongovernmental Organizations"

Katharine Cornell Gorka, Regional Director of the National Forum Foundation (which administers the regional networking component of USAID's Democracy Network Program) discusses the history of US assistance to NGOs in East Central Europe. She explains the reasons why this field has become one of the single largest areas of US governmental and private assistance in the last few years; the effect of these programs on developing civil society in the region; and the positive and negative aspects of such programs. The conclusion provides information about major NGO development programs.

"Building Democracy at the Local Level: The Case of Poland"
In this article, Joanna Regulska, Professor of Geography and Director for the Center for Russian, Central and East European Studies at Rutgers University and Director of Local Democracy in Poland (LPD) presents a case study of assistance to local governments in Poland. In presenting the case study, Professor Regulska illustrates many of the aspects of the program the Local Democracy in Poland initiative that have made it an example for other countries to follow.

"Promoting and Protecting Human Rights: A Model for Technical Assistance to NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe"
The final article in the series presents a model for assisting the development of NGOs (and in particular human rights NGOs). The model is based upon one the author, Edwin Rekosh, developed while working for the International Human Rights Law Group in Bucharest, Romania.

Program Data

The heart of the study is the catalog of program information. The data in this section represents the results of the ECE Information Exchange's efforts to collect information on training programs related to democratization, the rule of law and civil society. Included in the listing are both ongoing and completed projects.

The data is presented in several forms. First, the ECE Information Exchange has put together a detailed listing of major programs that responded to our survey request. In total, this section has in-depth information on about 45 programs in the region, including: *organization name; program name; address and contact information, the type of organization, primary field of activity, the type of project, the length of the program and number of participants per year (if applicable); project beneficiaries/audience, the countries in which the program is active, total funding and the funding source;* and *a short summary of the program activities*. It is hoped that this listing will provide a comprehensive picture of many of the major programs in the region.

Second, a more concise listing of 227 programs has been compiled and presented in table (column) format based upon the information we collected from other sources as well as from our survey effort. Information in the table includes: *program name; organization name, address and phone/fax numbers; field of activity and countries in which the program is active*. The goal of this listing is to provide the most comprehensive amount of information in a format that is user-friendly.

In order to assist the reader, we have also put together two indexes, so that the reader can cross-reference programs by the countries in which they are active and their field of activity. Thus, if a reader only wishes to find out what programs are in a particular field or in a particular country (or countries), he or she will not have to search through the complete listing.

Appendixes

In order to provide additional information to the readers, the publication contains four appendixes:

Soros Foundation Programs
The network of national foundations and regional initiatives supported by the financier and philanthropist George Soros has supported more democracy building initiatives than any other private or governmental entity. However, the sheer number of programs and the decentralized nature of the foundation network make it almost impossible to accurately catalog the myriad activities that have been undertaken or funded by the different parts of the Soros Foundation network. Thus, we have included a listing of addresses and contact information for the national foundations and regional initiatives in order to assist the reader who might wish to obtain additional information about the programs of the Soros Foundation network.

The Democracy Network
The Democracy Network (DemNet) Program is a new initiative funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to support the development of indigenous NGOs in East and Central Europe. Support through the DemNet Program is delivered through nine individual country programs and two regional programs that are managed by American organizations. This appendix includes a complete listing of these organizations and their contact information in the region.

Selected Bibliography
Katharine Cornell Gorka, Regional Director of the

National Forum Foundation, has put together a short selected bibliography of studies that have looked at US governmental and private support for democracy, should the reader wish to pursue further reading on the subject.

THE FUNDING AGENCIES

The study found that the majority of funding comes from four types of organizations: direct governmental funding, private independent foundations, private foundations that receive most or all of their funding from the US government and NGOs that regrant moneys from the other three sources.

US Government Funding

The main government agencies that provide funding for programs in East Central Europe are the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United States Information Agency (USIA). USAID was tasked by Congress to distribute funding under the SEED (Support for East European Democracy) Act. These funds have been disbursed to other US government agencies, including USIA, the Department of Treasury and the Department of Agriculture, and to other organizations in the United States through competitive contracts. (By law, USAID can only directly fund US organizations.)

USIA has been particularly active in the academic sector through the Fulbright and Hubert H. Humphrey programs and the social science curriculum development project. It has also assisted the development of democracy through the Central and East European Training Programs' (CEETP) small grants program to indigenous NGOs.

Private Independent Foundations

The major US private foundations that have been active in the region include the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation, and, most active of all, the various Soros-funded initiatives.

The network of foundations and regional programs sponsored by the billionaire financier and philanthropist George Soros represent the largest single effort (public or private) to support democratization and civil society. The Soros Foundation network acts both as a grant giving foundation and an operating foundation. Funding has tended to directly support indigenous institutions and NGOs. Regional projects of the Soros Foundation network include: The Open Society Institute (OSI), The Constitutional and Legislative Policy Institute (COLPI), The Institute for Local Government and Public Service (ILGPS) and the Central European University (CEU).

Since independent foundations can be more flexible in their funding practices, they have been particularly successful in providing assistance to alternative sectors of society. Private funding reached its climax in 1993. Since then, several independent foundations have begun to phase out their activities in the region, though several remain very active.

Government Supported Nongovernmental Organizations:

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a nongovernmental organization with an independent board. However, almost all of their funding comes from a Congressional appropriation. Thus, they cannot be classified as either a governmental agency or a private donor. NED distributes a majority of its funding through four core grantees: the Free Trade Institute, the Center for International Private Enterprise, the Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the Republican Institute for International Affairs. Through these organizations and other grantees, they aim to promote pluralism, democratic institutions, independent labor unions, free market economics and a free press.

Regrants

A significant amount of funding has been disbursed to indigenous NGOs through regrant activities. In such programs, the funder provides a set amount of funding to a US NGO that will then regrant it directly to ECE NGOs. Regranting is a significant part of the USAID's Democracy Network program in which country grantees redistribute funds through small grants programs to indigenous NGOs. US NGOs which have served as regranting organizations include the Foundation for a Civil Society, Academy for Educational Development, World Learning, the United Way International and others. The Environmental Partnership Fund for

Central and Eastern Europe is an example of a situation in which independent foundations established a fund in the region to provide small grants to environmental NGOs.
Governmental and private funders have found regranting to be a valuable method for providing funding on the grass roots level. The NGO which serves as the regranting agency is in a better position to administer a funding program at this level.

SURVEY RESULTS

The Institute of International Education (IIE) collected information on 227 training programs in East Central Europe that were funded by US private or governmental resources in the area of democratization, rule of law and civil society. The data includes projects which are active or were active between the period January 1, 1990 - December 31, 1995.

• **Of the 227 programs surveyed, the vast majority of programs were administered by NGOs in the United States or East Central Europe.** Approximately 80% of all programs surveyed were organized by NGOs. A handful of programs were administered by universities, operating foundations, governmental agencies, think-tanks, corporations and other organizations.

• **Of NGOs, programs were evenly split between US organizations (either US-based or with a field office in the region) and indigenous NGOs. Over time, the growing tendency has been to fund NGOs in the region.** In 1990-91, a majority of the programs were undertaken by US organizations. But, by 1994-95 funding was concentrating on ECE NGOs. There are several explanations for this trend. First, in 1990-91 very few ECE NGOs existed or were known by US funding resources. By 1995, many ECE NGOs had established contacts with US organizations. Second, funders have realized that they can get a better return on their investment by directly supporting ECE NGOs. Finally, the focus of funding has shifted more towards indigenous NGO development. Funders have seen the development of sustainable NGOs in the region as an important goal in itself.

• **Programs have focused on the Northern tier countries of Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, and the Czech Republic.** Approximately 75% of the single-country programs were undertaken in one of these four countries. A partial explanation for this phenomenon is that information is easier to collect from these countries, and thus, the survey data for the southern tier (Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Macedonia) is not complete. However, this can only partially explain the overwhelming majority of programs in the northern tier. Other explanations are that in the northern tier, NGOs are more developed, NGOs have more international connections, information is more readily available, the necessary infrastructure is in place, and there are stronger émigré communities in the United States (especially from Poland), that provide support and assistance to their colleagues in their country of origin.

• **Poland has been the beneficiary of the most programs.** Thirty-seven percent of single-country programs took place in Poland. This finding was expected since Poland has the largest population in the region, has a very strong émigré community in the United States and is central to US security interests in the region.

• **Regional (or multi-country) program accounted for approximately 34% of all programs.** The majority of regional programs were undertaken by US NGOs. The economies of scale are such that in order for a project undertaken by a US NGO to be feasible, the project must focus on more than one country. This situation has a side benefit of helping to promote regional cooperation. As many of their projects cross boundaries, the programs have emphasized cooperation within the region.

• **Overall, funders and administering organizations have focused on four general areas: legal reform, NGO development, local government (public administration) and human rights (ethnic minority issues and conflict resolution).** Programs have been pretty much evenly spread out over these four areas. Each has accounted for approximately 20-25% of all programs.

• **There has been a fundamental thematic shift in the focus of funding between 1992 and 1994.** Between 1990 and 1993, programs focused on establishing the basis of democratic government and the further development of basic democratic principles.

Projects focused on legal reform, insuring free and fair elections, constitutional and legislative drafting, safeguarding basic human rights and similar projects. In 1994, we start to see a shift to a second phase of democracy building initiatives which focus on promoting civil society and strengthening local governments. These two sectors are seen as crucial to the development of advanced democracies. During this period, there has been a large growth in programs in the area of public administration, local government, public planning and NGO development.

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn from the data regarding the nature of the US governmental and private assistance over the last five years to support democracy in East Central Europe. It is hoped that these lessons will serve as a guide to those developing future programs in East Central Europe and the Newly Independent States.

• **Sustainability is the true measure of success.** The overall goal of the assistance effort is to create a sustainable democracy. Individual projects speak of developing sustainable institutions that can exist and flourish after Western funding has ceased. However, it is still too early to determine either the long-term sustainability of democratic institutions or democracy in the region.

• **The most successful programs have been those that truly involve the beneficiaries in all stages of the project development and implementation.** Many donors have learned that programs that are unilaterally developed have a much smaller chance of being successful than those that aren't. The donor or western NGO must work with local counterparts to adapt their US models to suit the local needs. The importance of real partnerships cannot be underestimated.

• **Projects are moving from an "assistance" to a "cooperation" model.** In the first years of the transformation, most projects took the form of assistance, in which one side (usually the United States or Western Europe) made most of the decisions regarding the development and implementation of projects. And, almost all the funding came from outside sources. In the past few years, cooperation has been the tendency. In the cooperation model, western funders and local institutions work together to design and implement projects. Funding for these projects is also an increasingly cooperative effort with both sides contributing financially to the realization of the project.

• **The experience with US and foreign expertise has been mixed.** Foreign expertise has played a significant role in disseminating know-how and presenting successful models to their counterparts in East Central Europe. However, there is a growing disenchantment with foreign advisers, especially high priced consultants who spend very little time in the country and try to implement models that have not been adapted to suit the local needs. Western experts who either live in, are émigrés to, or who have spent a significant amount of time in the country or the region tend to be better received by their ECE colleagues.

• **Western organizations are in a position to play an important role in promoting regional cooperation.** Western organizations are more able to serve as coordinators of regional projects than local organizations. They can transcend many of the prejudices that countries in the region have about each other and serve as a moderating force to bring different voices together.

• **Western intervention has been very important in insuring a plurality of voices in the region.** One of the areas where western donors have been the most successful is in providing assistance to alternative voices in the democratic process. This has been particularly true for independent foundations. According to a recent study on independent foundation giving in Central Europe by Kevin F. F. Quigley, guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center and formerly the director of public policy at The Pew Charitable Trusts "they (independent foundations) have clearly contributed to a growing pluralization of these societies and have helped previously muted individuals find their voice on issues of importance."[3]

• **Training of Trainers (TOT) has been a very successful model for building indigenous expertise.** One of the most popular methods of training, especially in human rights and the NGO development field has been TOT. The programs combine

the provisions of western expertise with the development of indigenous expertise and sustainable organizations.

• **East Central Europe has entered a second phase of democratic development.** In 1993 or 1994, there was a fundamental shift in the types of programs initiated. During the first years of the transformation, most projects focused on establishing the basic building blocks of democracy. Since 1994, programs tend to focus on assisting those institutions necessary for the development of a long-term sustainable democracy. This fundamental shift illustrates the progress that has been made in building democracy but also underlines the continuing need for projects to insure the long-term development of democracy.

• **The focus of many programs has shifted from the capital cities to the outlying areas.** The capital cities of East Central Europe have tended to receive the most attention from donors as well as from business leaders. However, as needs have changed more programs have concentrated on developing democracy at the local level. This change corresponds with a shift from focus on the elites (judiciary, parliaments, political parties) to a more grassroots level (NGOs, civic organizations, etc.) In particular, public administration and NGO development projects operate mostly outside of the capital cities and at a grassroots level.

• **The gap between the northern tier countries (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary) and the southern tier countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Romania) remains very large.** A majority of funding has gone to the northern tier countries although many of the southern tier countries are more in need of assistance in building democratic institutions. The development of democratic governance in the northern tier is far ahead of that in the southern tier.

In summation, the following general rules will help funders and fundees develop successful programs in the future:

Long-term sustainability should be the key measure for determining future funding practices.

Local partners must be involved in all aspects of the program. Programs should be more cooperative both programmatically and financially.

Projects need to continue developing capabilities at the grassroots level outside of capital cities.

Needs are greatest in southern tier of the region (Bulgaria, Albania, Romania and Macedonia) and the war-torn regions of the former Yugoslavia (Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, the Institute of International Education is grateful for the generous support of The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. I would also like to extend my appreciation to the funders and institutions that provided information for the publication on their activities in the region. Also, a special thanks goes out to those who contributed articles for the publication: Katharine Cornell Gorka, G.H.W. Baker, Joanna Reguska and Edwin Rekosh. Many staff at IIE's headquarters in New York City and its East Central Europe regional office have assisted in the completion of the project. In New York, Peggy Blumenthal, Ed Battle and Lisa Rhoades deserve specific mention, and in Budapest Beata Finna, Alfiya Kulsharipova, Caprice Pine, Eszter Igali, Kristen Hilmo and especially Nathan Henry have contributed greatly to the realization of this project. Last but not least, a very extra special debt of gratitude is extended to Mary E. Kirk, the person who designed and developed this project and then entrusted me to complete it when she left IIE - Budapest to direct IIE's Fulbright and Academic Services Division in New York.

Although IIE has attempted to make this report as complete and timely as possible, we understand that the dynamic nature of the many initiatives currently being undertaken in the region makes it difficult to present a comprehensive and up-to-date account. I hope that this publication will be a useful record of many of the most important programs that have been introduced over the past several years. We welcome information from readers on new or overlooked programs in East Central Europe for inclusion in later reports.

October, 1996

[1] For purposes of this report, East Central Europe is defined as the region that includes Albania, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Given constraints on survey funding and timing, the Baltic States (usually counted among ECE countries) are not included in this study.

[2] "New Year's Address to the Nation: Prague, January 1, 1994," in Vaclav Havel, *Toward a Civil Society: Selected Speeches and Writings 1990-1994* (Prague: Lidove Noviny Publishing House), pp. 263-264.

[3] Kevin F.F. Quigley, "For Democracy's Sake: How Funders Fail–and Succeed" in *World Policy Journal*, Spring 1996.

Exporting Legal Reform and the Rule of Law to Central and Eastern Europe

by

G.H.W. Baker

Introduction

The legal reform movement in Central and Eastern Europe was born of the vacuum created by the downfall of the communist regimes in late 1989. The import and urgency to provide assistance to these fledgling democracies was irresistible. The region became a modern day laboratory for political scientists intent on putting their long-studied theories into practice. It was an historic opportunity for constitutional scholars to assist in the drafting of the ultimate social contract. Many saw these soft revolutions—some were more velvet than others—as providing a rare window for setting the foundations of lasting constitutional democracies in the region. Free marketeers recognized an unprecedented opportunity as well; Central Europeans and foreigners alike were bonding over the works of F. A. Hayak and Ludwig von Mises. The early days were filled with a storybook romanticism. At the helm in Hungary was a poet; in what was still Czechoslovakia, a playwright; and in Poland, an ordinary electrician.

Offers of assistance flowed from the West. The United States, through its public and private personas, played a major role in sponsoring regional initiatives. Huge sums of money were allocated to efforts involving experts and consultants of all political stripes, motivated by a plethora of interests, some ideological, some economic, and representing a multitude of organizations. Such resources launched the legal reform industry. The reaction to this new import was as expected. Assistance was accepted with gratitude and viewed with suspicion. "Don't look a gift horse in the mouth" has its corollary in every language. Concerns about paternalism and legal imperialism were usually expressed in low

G.H.W. Baker is an attorney in Washington D.C. He spent over three years based in Central and Eastern Europe working in the area of legal reform.

voices out of earshot of the grantors. There were as many motivations for cooperating on projects as there were programs being proposed. Many objectives were laudable, some self-serving. Increasingly the recipients of assistance articulated their concerns more honestly. At one conference in Budapest, an American law professor was lecturing enthusiastically to a group of young lawyers from the region. As he pontificated on the law's ability, when combined with economic analysis, to solve virtually any legal problem, he was politely interrupted by a young Hungarian law professor who remarked, more than a little sarcastically, "Yes, this is all very familiar to us. In fact we spent much time studying it in school. What was the gentleman's name? Marx, I believe." It was inevitable that the "business" of legal reform in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) would evolve over time. Some of the changes were due to the progressive nature of the work required, as the countries' new systems developed and priorities shifted. Early on reforms were painted with broad strokes; later, the fine detail would be added. Part of this evolution can be attributed to the emergence of new and unforeseen problems. Reform efforts often had to be shifted from the enviable work of trying to construct the model democracy to the less glamorous work of keeping a dangerous situation from becoming a catastrophe. War in the Balkans necessitated a shift of resources to deal with the crisis and contain its spread. Today many legal reform efforts relate to maintaining the very fragile peace and in bringing war criminals to justice.

With the disintegration of the USSR, resources were allocated toward the east to assist the Newly Independent States. However, some changes in the field of legal reform fortunately are due to the fact that work has been successfully completed and US sponsored assistance is no longer as critical. Unfortunately, still other changes are merely the result of a decrease in enthusiasm for such projects after five years, along with a corresponding decrease in funding available due to worldwide budget deficits. For many funders, legal reform in the region is no longer in vogue. It is certainly appropriate therefore to reflect, at this stage in the process, upon where we have been and where we are headed. The objective in trying to catalog, in some coherent fashion, the various players in both the United States and the host countries, and their corresponding initiatives in the field of legal reform, is to provide a resource as to who is doing what and from where. It would be impossible to evaluate, in any meaningful way, the strength and efficacy of the projects listed in a field so adverse to qualification as "legal reform." Keeping track of the various initiatives is akin to trying to carry an armful of snakes: moving in all directions and never still for very long. Nevertheless, such a directory can provide critical insight into the types of programs that have been performed over the past five years and act as a kind of road map to indicate future trends in programs in the area. But it is safe to say that the jury will remain out for some time on the precise impact the efforts have had on these emerging democracies' legal institutions and its societies' concomitant legal consciousness.

The Problem of Legal Reform

One must keep in mind the enormity of the task undertaken since late 1989. Legal reform in the most stable of societies—with established institutions and long-standing legal traditions—is chaotic at best; the manner even in which legislation is proposed and adopted in any democracy is not a very pretty sight. So it is not surprising that legal reforms incorporating substantial political and economic changes are even more contentious. There is always much at stake; the status quo is altered, leaving new winners and losers. It should be remembered that legal reform efforts are not merely a part of the "transition." It is the nature of law in any dynamic society that it is constantly evolving to adjust to new problems, political shifts, economic dislocations, changing technologies, and fiscal constraints. Old battles, long considered won, must be fought anew lest established victories give way to tomorrow's countervailing "reforms."

History Does Indeed Repeat Itself

In an open society, legal reform involves a wide range of players and an arsenal of methods. Change is not just the purview of an elite cadre of legislators, ministers, judges, and academics in positions of power. Through such avenues as free and independent media, grassroots organizations, civic education, and the ballot box, there are an infinite number of ways citizens can be empowered to contribute to (or resist) reform.

Legal Reform Defined

Given that legal reform is an ongoing and necessary component of any democracy, the question becomes: what types of efforts in the region should US organizations concern themselves with and when should such efforts be considered completed? In other words, when is the transition over? In defining what we mean by legal reform in this sense, it might be useful to ask: when would the nongovernmental and nonprofit projects in Central and Eastern Europe mirror those being conducted in other, less transitional, areas of the world? How does the assistance provided to these new democracies by US government agencies differ from what these same agencies provide to other countries? How are corporate interests advanced within the region differently from outside the region? The above mentioned groups do, and will continue to, assert their particular interests around the world, not least in the area of legal reform. Normally, however, such initiatives are not couched in terms of humanitarian aid but are the normal pursuits of one operating in an interconnected world. Therefore, it is important to distinguish these standard types of influence from those which are transitional in nature. Reform assistance in Central and Eastern Europe can be roughly classified as either: broad-based, bottom-up initiatives, which focus on the "nongoverning" segments of the population, or the narrower, top-down programs directed at a society's power structure. Both are equally important as one type cannot succeed for long without advancements in the other.

The Broad View

In the broadest sense, defining legal reform in a society moving from a closed one-party dictatorship with a centrally controlled economy to a multi-party democracy with a market-based economy is simple: virtually everything is included. A quick perusal of this directory will reveal the vastness of activities covered by initiatives that fairly can be described as contributing to legal reform, such as projects to promote independent media, civic education, women's rights, etc. Even the titles of the other sections of this directory (NGO Development, Local Government, Academic Programs in Public Administration, and Human Rights) could theoretically be placed under the mantle of legal reform. Therefore what one traditionally considers legal reform (e.g. legislative overhauls) is too narrow of a reading of what encompasses the term in countries experiencing profound changes in the philosophical premises underlying fundamental institutions. Having said that, nearly everything qualifies as legal reform in a broad sense. One can appreciate the contribution that small grassroots projects that foster participation or seek to educate or empower individuals play in the development of these societies, for top-down initiatives, while important, only go so far. Unless and until society as a whole feels it can play a meaningful role in the formulation of reforms, the rule of law will fail to firmly take hold. Initiatives designed to foster the development of an open society are at the root of democratically driven legal reforms. And, central to the development of this civil society is the free and open exchange of information, the networking of people and organizations. Just as technology played an important role in the downfall of the old regimes, new technology has been instrumental in facilitating the networking and information exchange functions. Even today the simple act of procuring a fax machine or computer can have a far-reaching effect on an organization or an issue of national importance. The Soros Foundation's recent commitment of $100 million toward Internet access will be of tremendous help to organizations in the region. The USAID-funded Democracy Network Program (DemNet) is likewise providing financial, legal and networking support to the public policy oriented NGO sector in the region. The strengthening of this third sector through such cross-border nonpartisan initiatives will provide a check on governmental malfeasance and will have a profound impact on the development of the rule of law in the region.

The Narrow View

Notwithstanding the influence these broad-based, civil-society-creating initiatives have on legal reform, the second type of activity falls within the narrower view of legal reform assistance, and covers top-down initiatives. These activities are what one normally associates with legal reform and are directed at assisting those in positions of power, such as judges, legislators, or members of the executive branch. At the heart of these efforts is legal infrastructure building, aiding in the construction of the institu-

tions and processes which will provide the framework for these societies to carry out traditional legal reforms on their own. These initiatives take many forms; for example, in furthering an independent judiciary, efforts may range from providing substantive judicial training through seminars and workshops, to fostering respect for this much maligned branch of government by such seemingly simple measures as increasing judges' salaries or heightening decorum by instituting the wearing of robes. One such project with which I was involved in Hungary was devoted to supplying comparative legal perspectives on issues of concern to various officials of that country's legislative, executive and judicial branches. And although many took advantage of the services offered by the project, it was obvious that certain divisions of the government viewed such foreign assistance as either irrelevant or not worth the political risk. Therefore, although the importance of having access to officials in positions of power cannot be denied, such access in and of itself is not a guarantee that the proffered assistance will be either embraced or implemented.

The cataloging of reform efforts as either broad or narrow is somewhat arbitrary as there are many organizations which target both types of actors and programs. There are also actors and initiatives which fit into either category. The role of a law professor is a good example of this hybrid personality. For, on the one hand, these academics often advise members of parliament or are involved in drafting legislation, or are otherwise engaged in policy-making roles, yet they still serve in the broad-based capacity as educators in the classroom and as commentators through their writings. Initiatives directed at players with dual roles have the benefit of affecting policy-makers as well as reaching the society at large.

One of the most successful legal reform projects I witnessed in Central and Eastern Europe was the annual Raising Rights Consciousness Seminar for young law professionals from the region conducted by Professor George P. Fletcher of Columbia University and hosted by the Democracy After Communism Foundation in Budapest. The month-long seminar was an intensive crash course on the foundations of western jurisprudence. And although the program did not continue after its third year, I continue to encounter former participants who speak positively about the continuing impact the program has had on their personal and professional lives. I met a Slovak judge and past participant, for example, who said he keeps the philosophical materials from the course on the bench and occasionally turns to them in his judicial role. One of the secrets of the program's successful open dialogue was the professional but relaxed setting in which the western professors and the CEE participants treated each other as equals and with mutual respect. Also Professor Fletcher, as the director, brought to the program his rich comparative law background and an acute understanding of the region's legal systems and history.

There cannot be a discussion of legal reform efforts in Central and Eastern Europe without mentioning the American Bar Association's Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI), far and away the biggest player in the field. In an area where organizations appear and disappear overnight, CEELI has played a major role in the region and continues to build on its nearly five years of experience in legal reform. It has fine-tuned its operations since it began work in the Fall of 1991 and is one of the few organizations whose funding by USAID has been increased. Their activities cover the gamut of initiatives ranging from commenting on draft legislation to providing legal texts. They are currently operating in twenty countries and have forty liaisons based overseas. CEELI has an acute understanding of who the client is and consequently their work is demand driven. Understanding the transitory nature of their work, they have already closed down their liaison offices in Estonia, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Following the evolutions in the field they have begun work in Sarajevo and are assisting the War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague. Because CEELI relies on the pro bono services of over 4,000 experts, its in-country personnel operate on mainly room and board salaries. CEELI is able to provide its legal reform services at a fraction of the cost of its private consulting counterparts. To avoid any inference of being part of the foreign lawyer industry, CEELI requires all of its in-country liaisons to refrain from doing any work in connection with their host countries for one year after their service expires. Such a policy is a comfort to countries suspicious of the ulterior motives of foreign legal advisors.

A Few Words About the Rule of Law

To become involved in legal reform in Central and Eastern Europe, it is an unstated prerequisite that one's project proposal be peppered with the amorphous phrase, "the rule of law," otherwise known as ROL. It is helpful to speak of "promoting the rule of law" or "aiding the transition to the rule of law," "developing the rule of law," and "strengthening respect for the rule of law." ROL is chanted like a mantra, as if it is the antidote which will miraculously cure whatever malady from which these societies may be suffering. The concept is rarely expounded upon directly but defined by way of the programs which invoke the term. It is reminiscent of US Supreme Court Justice Stewart's remark about obscenity where he said, "I cannot define it, but I know it when I see it."

The Marxist-Leninists defined the rule of law as part of the superstructure of "bourgeois democracy," an institution which sacrificed substantive justice for the appearance of procedural formality. The notion simply masked the legal system's tendency to protect the rich and powerful at the expense of the working class. This perception is important to keep in mind as it was the prevailing concept of propaganda and power which has to be overcome in order for individuals to believe in the value of the ROL to their societies.

This cynicism towards legal and political institutions was well established in the citizenry of Central and Eastern Europe in the fifty years of totalitarian rule. It survived changes in the regimes, and in many instances has grown stronger over the past few years, and not without reason. In the rush to privatization there has been an unprecedented transfer of wealth from state ownership to private hands. The process of distribution has remained in the hands of a few, as a result of partisan politics, official corruption, and even outright criminal activity. Too often the beneficiaries of the distribution are the same individuals under whom the people had suffered during the prior regimes. People feel cheated by the transition process, and this disillusionment has resulted in a backlash against new institutions and leaders. What effect does this cynicism have on the future of democratic practices?

The perceived legitimacy of the reforms is vital to a society's ability to embrace and support the new order. This points out a difficulty these countries face that no number of judicial training seminars or other top-down initiatives can cure. A society must be convinced of the value and justice of the institutions being reformed in its name. Without this confidence people will continue to operate outside the law and use extra-judicial means to conduct their affairs. Without broad-based acceptance, the rule of law will remain elusive.

Reduced to its most basic formulation, the rule of law means that government is bound by rules that are fixed, announced and transparent. It is just one of the virtues that a legal system may have and it is not to be confused with democracy, equality or justice. At the core of the ROL is the objective that in order for people to plan their lives rationally in a free society, individuals need to be able to know the rules of the game in advance and to rely with a degree of certainty on the fact that these rules will remain fairly stable, and will not change too much, too soon, or too often. The rule of law, therefore, loves stability and predictability and abhors radical change. Herein points out the difficulty in defining the rule of law in Central and Eastern Europe.

Radical and revolutionary reform is required in order to establish the rule of law. Rapid legal reform is anathema to the tenet of stability and gradual change. Of course, it is desirable in all societies that laws change and legal principles evolve. And in emerging democracies, at least in the initial going, such rapid, radical change is unavoidable. Whole systems and histories were turned upside down. New laws were enacted at breakneck speeds. Long established practices and procedures were jettisoned virtually overnight. These societies were truly revolutionized and, for the most part, peacefully. Practices once deemed legal became illegal; acts once forbidden are now not only permitted but promoted and encouraged by the state. These legal reforms were not mere fine tunings of an existing system, but efforts to drastically alter legal, political and economic institutions. In this period of rapid, wide-ranging change, it is easy to lose sight of the principle of stability. It is one thing to initially change from a system of state to private ownership, but it is quite another to alter the rules of privatization, once assurances have been made and contracts signed.

The former is a necessary element towards moving to a market-economy. The latter confounds the rule of law and has the effect of undermining the very principles sought to be established. In the race to reform there is the danger of over-reliance on an "end by any means" thinking. In the face of difficult and uncomfortable opposition, it is always tempting to temporarily suspend due process in the name of democracy. The ROL is not like an on/off switch whereby a given society is either governed by the rule of law or completely void of it. Rather the rule of law lies along a continuum. It embodies a set of principles, some or all of which may be adhered to, and then by varying degrees.

The Law of Unintended Consequences

Best intentions can go awry. This holds true when foreigners start to tinker with another's legal system. One man's reform is another's nightmare.
A good first rule is to do no harm. This requires having the background and sensitivity necessary to see how the different pieces of the picture fit together. Many efforts have been wasted because the foreign advisers did not understand the situation on the ground, nor did they make great attempts to do so. And because virtually every area of the law is being reexamined and reformed simultaneously, legal developments are often out of sync or even in direct conflict with other areas of the reform process, and laws are passed which are at cross purposes with other legislation. This is a real risk where many different laws are cobbled together from a variety of sources without a coherent understanding of how it all fits together. For example, how can privatization work if capital markets are not developed, if the country lacks a system of secured transactions? Bankruptcy laws are enacted without consideration of liability for environmental damage; currency rules are liberated without having any mechanism in place for dealing with the problems of money laundering. Such instances are not difficult to find; the challenge is to limit their numbers.

The Future of Legal Reform

The change undertaken in these countries is so fundamental and swift that adjustments and readjustments will continue for many years to come. However, funding from the United States for legal reform in the area has already been greatly diminished. There is still a critical role US-sponsored projects can play, but one must now learn how to do more with less. Organizations need to learn to cooperate with each other more as well as with other westerners working in the region. In such a fluid environment, a premium should be placed on flexibility and the ability to react quickly to sudden changes in circumstances. Therefore the focus should be on smaller projects free from bureaucratic entanglements.

The key to successful projects lies in the personalities involved, their strength of commitment, sensitivity, willingness to communicate, enthusiasm, and belief in the goals of the project. These factors are often more critical than the expertise of the players, the amount of funding, the size of project, or the sharpness of the proposal. There is a whole industry of people with the uncanny ability to follow the money who are expert in drafting proposals and follow-up reports. If there is a silver lining to be found in the decreased levels of funding being allocated to legal reform efforts, it is in the separation of the wheat from the chaff. Those groups who will remain in the region will be those truly committed and accustomed to doing difficult work under trying conditions. The greatest challenges offer the most exciting rewards. The progress of legal reform and the rule of law are linked to a multitude of factors. Economic conditions and ethnic tensions at home and abroad affect the well-being of these countries. Change has its own pace, like the flow of a river. And although there are certain things that can be done to direct, impede or accelerate the flow, it is subject to influences unknown or uncontrollable. As the region continues to develop and grow, so, too, will the soundness of its legal systems.

US Support for Nongovernmental Organizations

by

Katharine Cornell Gorka

US support for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has gone through three distinct phases. In the first phase, from about 1981-1989, governmental support was provided, but clandestinely, by the United States as President Reagan stepped up the fight against communism. Most support was directed toward the anti-communist Solidarity movement in Poland. Similarly, private assistance efforts were also directed to dissident organizations such as Solidarity, and Charter 77 in Prague in order to help bring about the end of totalitarian rule.

With the revolutions of 1989, US private and public assistance to the NGO sector virtually stopped. While US official assistance was implemented quickly and in sizable amounts under the SEED (Support to Eastern European Democracies) Act of 1990, that support went toward establishing free markets and to building what were then considered the fundamental building blocks of democracy, which did not at that time include civil society NGOs. Private assistance to Central and Eastern Europe also increased dramatically in 1989 in support of the transition, but here, too, to the virtual exclusion of the civil sector.

It was only in about the fifth year of the transition (1994) that assistance to the civil sector entered a new phase, in which it became a direct and substantial recipient of support. This shift reflected not only changes in the NGO sector itself: immediately after the revolutions of 1989, the leadership of most civil organizations crossed over into government and indeed some civil organizations even became political parties. Hence, there was a shortage of civil organizations themselves. By 1992/93, the numbers

Katharine Cornell Gorka is regional director of the National Forum Foundation's Budapest office. As such, she is project director for the NGO Regional Networking Project of the USAID Democracy Network Program. Formerly she was a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute.

were rapidly increasing. But the increase in support to the civil sector that began markedly in about 1994 also reflected a shift in the understanding among westerners of the importance of a healthy, functioning civil society to democracy—an understanding that will likely be reflected in all future assistance programs to democratization.

The Origins of US Support to Central and Eastern Europe

In the contemporary era, US assistance to CEE's NGO sector in any significant sense began with the Reagan administration's clandestine support of the Solidarity movement in Poland. According to one report, "Until Solidarity's legal status was restored in 1989 it flourished underground, supplied, nurtured and advised largely by the network established under the auspices of Reagan and John Paul II. Tons of equipment—fax machines, printing presses, transmitters, telephones, short-wave radios...[etc.] were smuggled into Poland."

Yet that early support by the US government for nongovernmental organizations in Central and Eastern Europe was by default rather than by design. US interest in the region, particularly with the Reagan administration, which came into office in early 1981, was to bring about the fall of communist governments. US government efforts in the region were therefore by necessity directed toward individuals and organizations outside of government for political reasons rather than out of any inherent belief in the role or importance of NGOs. Indeed, according to some accounts, few believed these organizations would have any meaningful effect. As Adrian Karatnycky noted in 1988:

> *"The rise of civil society in Eastern Europe is one of the most heartening developments to have taken place since the consolidation of totalitarianism in the Soviet bloc. The base of that civil society is the various independent, authentic institutions that function in place of and in opposition to the official state-controlled institutions. There is, however, deep skepticism in the United States and the West about the potential of opposition movements in the East. In part, such skepticism was reinforced by the crushing of Solidarnosc. It is a skepticism that pervades the political spectrum—right, left and center."*[1]

Indeed it took the US government another 14 years from its initial support for the Solidarity movement before it made any serious policy commitment to the civil sector.

Official US Support in Central and Eastern Europe After 1989

Once the communist regimes fell in 1989, official US assistance to the region was quickly initiated, although it was not directed toward the nongovernmental sector. At the start, and indeed for about the first five years of assistance (1989-1994), attention was focused on building or strengthening basic democratic institutions: electoral systems, freely elected parliaments, independent media, rule of law, free markets; and at the same time on providing humanitarian assistance to ease the pain of transition.

Approaching the five-year mark, around 1994, three factors brought about a shift in the emphasis of US assistance from governmental to nongovernmental institutions. First, it was felt that throughout Central and Eastern Europe basic democratic institutions were in place. While the West may have been unhappy with election results, few could contest the validity of the elections themselves. Hence, in nearly every country, parliaments were freely elected; constitutions were being rewritten; and the media was well on its way toward reestablishing its independence.

Second, there no longer was a perceived need for humanitarian assistance. While the costs of transition were certainly high, the types of emergency relief that had been provided in 1990-92 were no longer required. And lastly, the first wave of reformers were nearly all voted out of office, and across the board (except in the Czech Republic), former communists were brought back into power. Whether rightly or wrongly, this was interpreted by many in the US government as a sign that the democratic reforms in Central and Eastern Europe may not be irreversible, and indeed, that the countries of the region could still slip back to communism. This spurred a period of questioning as to what in fact constitutes democracy—because the formal institutions of democracy alone had not kept former communists out of power.

These were the developments specific to Central and Eastern Europe that helped bring about a shift from

humanitarian and democracy-based assistance programs to the support for civil society. At the same time, a number of important developments were taking place in the broader development-assistance/democratization context that also helped move US assistance toward support for civil institutions. On the one hand, the major development agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program were well on their way toward increased citizen participation and greater cooperation with NGOs in implementing their own development projects. The poor success rate of the large-scale, highly centralized development assistance projects of the 1970s had brought about a growing recognition that even the simple projects required the active interest and participation of their beneficiaries. In other words, international donors were learning that working only with central governments to improve infrastructure was not sufficient. Local participation was also required to help ensure both the appropriateness as well as the sustainability of assistance projects. Thus, projects with the greatest degree of success were often those with the greatest degree of citizen participation.

At the same time it also became apparent that citizen participation was most easily achieved in communities where some tradition of civic organization existed previously. In these cases, existing civic groups could be called into action, or habits of participation could be utilized, even if for different purposes from those for which they were originally formed or developed, often with a good deal of success.

Parallel to this learning process in the development world, several projects in the world of democratization were coming to similar conclusions. The landmark study led by Robert Putnam on Italy's implementation of regional governments during the 1970s and 1980s drew profound conclusions as to why some democratic governments succeed while others fail. It was not, as they initially supposed, political cohesion, ideological heterogeneity, or even social harmony that led to good governance. Rather, they concluded: "*By far the most important factor in explaining good government is the degree to which social and political life in a region approximates the ideal of the civic community.*"[2]

Another major study of 26 developing countries in the mid to late 1980s also pointed to the importance of civil society:

> "*As a strong and autonomous associational life may buttress or foster democracy, so the absence of a vigorous sector of voluntary associations and interest groups or the control of such organizations by a corporatist state can reinforce authoritarian rule and obstruct the development of democracy.*"[3]

How the United States should help consolidate and enlarge democracy and markets had several answers, but importantly, by 1994, one of these was support for civil society.[4] This shift in emphasis was originally announced by President Clinton during his trip through the region in January 1994. The programmatic outcome was the Democracy Network project, a major initiative based on a multi-agency review, which was to provide $30 million over three years to 11 different countries, whose purpose would be "*to develop and strengthen the community of public policy-oriented NGOs in the CEE countries.*"[5] It is interesting to note that the goal of the program was not merely to strengthen NGOs but to strengthen their ability to participate in the policy process. In speaking broadly about US foreign assistance, Brian Atwood, Administrator of USAID, explained the thinking behind this:

> "*The development approaches we advocate for our programs and those of other donor governments—approaches that focus on decentralization, local, and individual empowerment—address the alienation and powerlessness that drive the conditions that create disorder.*"[6]

The various Democracy Network country programs were initiated throughout 1995, and are initially planned to last for two to three years in each country.

Private US Support for NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe

Support from private American foundations and organizations working in Central and Eastern Europe followed a similar track to official US assistance. Prior to 1989, private assistance was also directed to the nongovernmental, or dissident groups. This also was due in part to the nature of the regimes in power and the goals of private assistance—to help bring about the downfall of these totalitarian regimes, or to work toward other goals such as respect for human rights or disarmament

which also entailed bringing about the end of the governments in power. However, at least among some organizations, there was an overt or inherent belief in the importance of civil society.

The World Without War Council (now Center for Civil Society International), for example, published a directory of independent organizations in Eastern Europe specifically to build links between US nongovernmental organizations and individuals and those in Eastern Europe.[7] And George Soros, a US citizen of Hungarian origin, specifically wanted to support civic movements in Hungary through his foundation, feeling that this was the best way to guarantee freedom.

Yet following the revolutions of 1989, like official assistance, private US assistance also concentrated on areas other than the civil sector, as the table below shows:

1990 Foundation Grantmaking to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by Program Area[8]

Program Area	Amount	%
Citizen Diplomacy	$1,133,650	2.3%
Culture & The Arts	$1,398,261	2.8%
Democracy & Human Rights	$6,789,355	13.5%
Economic Assistance, Managerial Training, etc.	$9,463,386	18.9%
Education	$9,295,163	18.5%
Environment	$2,789,832	5.6%
Health Care	$3,094,504	6.2%
Media, Press, Publications, etc.	$2,294,832	4.6%
Scientific Cooperation, Joint Projects, etc.	$2,175,415	4.3%
Security, Arms Control & Intl Relations	$4,078,700	8.1%
Strengthening the Voluntary & Nonprofit Sector	$373,000	0.7%
Misc. and Other	$7,251,294	14.5
TOTAL	**$50,137,392**	**100.0%**

[The following foundations each awarded at least $1 million in grants in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe during 1990 (listed in order from largest to smallest): Soros Foundation/Hungary, Ford Foundation, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, The Pew Charitable Trusts, Stefan Batory Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Soros Foundation/USSR, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, Trust for Mutual Understanding, John M. Olin Foundation, and the Charter Seventy-Seven Foundation.]

It should be noted that while "Strengthening the Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector" as a distinct program area was not receiving significant support in 1990, many nongovernmental organizations were in fact receiving support because they were conducting activities in the supported areas, particularly in democracy and human rights.

It should also be acknowledged that US foundations may have been restricted to some extent in their support for NGOs because of constraints within the sector. As one report stated:

> *"Despite the recent proliferation of nongovernmental organizations in several countries, many remain in their infancy. They may lack the basic physical, financial, and organizational resources they would need to be truly effective, and their legal right to exist has only just been recognized in some countries and is still being resisted in others. Many programs must therefore be channeled through organizations controlled or financed by the state."*[9]

Yet in spite of these constraints, it is still apparent that foundation grantmaking, at least in the first couple of years of the transition, had other priorities than the development of civil society, notably economic reform, political reform, environmental protection, academic reform, and development of an independent media.

By about 1992-93, however, a number of foundations were paying considerable attention to the nongovernmental sector. The Pew Charitable Trusts, for example, awarded a number of sizable grants to strengthen nongovernmental policy institutes throughout Central and Eastern Europe (this was part of a broader effort to improve indigenous policy formulation capabilities in the region).

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund started a program on Strengthening the Voluntary Sector and played an important role in helping to coordinate donors. They, together with the Ford Foundation and The Pew Charitable Trusts, co-sponsored a conference and report on foundation grantmaking in CEE (1991); they sponsored a report on the development of the nonprofit sector in CEE (1992); and they hosted the Pocantico Meeting in 1995, which brought together the newly awarded grantees of USAID's Democracy Network Program with private funders and assistance organizations who had been working in the region in order to exchange lessons learned at a senior level. They also organized a follow-up meeting scheduled for November 1996.

The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation has been one of the most important funders of the civil sector in Central and Eastern Europe. In their overall grantmaking activities, civil society is one of four program areas the foundation supports (the other three are environment, poverty, and Flint, Michigan—their home base), and early on they became involved in Central Europe. Their grantmaking has been directed toward developing civil society, the non-profit sector and philanthropy and volunteerism. One of their most significant contributions to the region has been their ongoing support for NGO resource centers in each of the countries. These centers play a major role in providing technical support and services to their country's NGOs.

The German Marshall Fund of the United States has also provided support although not under the rubric of strengthening civil society or non-profits but rather in an effort to increase citizen participation (through their political development program) and in promoting private economic development institutions (through the economic reform program).

As mentioned above, the Ford Foundation also set other priorities, notably economic, political, legal and academic reform, although they have provided some support for civil sector development, particularly through grants to such organizations as Johns Hopkins University for their technical assistance and training program for the nongovernmental sector, and to some independent institutes and organizations in Central Europe, such as the Democracy After Communism Foundation in Hungary.

Assessing the Impact of Assistance to NGOs

What has been the impact of this assistance? Has the West in any way affected the development of Central and Eastern Europe's non-governmental organizations? Has support for these organizations contributed to the consolidation of democracy in the region? Has it led to more effective governance? A handful of recent studies have tried to answer this question. Thomas Carrothers examined official US assistance in Romania and drew the following conclusions:

> *"The US assistance to civic advocacy organizations has contributed to the development of a growing new sector of nongovernmental organizations; in some areas, such as the environment and human rights, civic advocacy organizations have had some positive effects on governmental policy, and they have begun to raise public understanding, at least in major cities, with respect to some social and political issues."* [10]

Kevin Quigley, looking at the giving programs of 50 North American and European foundations providing support in Central and Eastern Europe, concluded that "independent funders have helped introduce and strengthen previously mute voices in the debate over national priorities and policies." [11] In this way, he suggests, independent funders have helped strengthen democracy by contributing to a more pluralistic landscape.

Most would argue that it is still too soon to tell what impact Western assistance to Central and Eastern Europe's NGO sector has had. Indeed many efforts only began in earnest in the last year or two, while a number of others are just now getting underway. Even in the long run, the impact will be difficult if not impossible to measure because of the complex nature of measuring or evaluating the impact of support to the NGO sector and the high cost involved in such evaluations.

Looking at the short-term, however, to assess US assistance efforts, one area of undoubted success is the effort to create indigenous capacity among NGO leaders and trainers. Unlike much of the Western support provided to the business sector, where Western consultants are brought in to bestow their expertise, every program targeted toward the

their expertise, every program targeted toward the NGO sector has sought from the very beginning to develop Central and Eastern European expertise. The Johns Hopkins Training of Trainers Program, the San Francisco-based Partners for Democratic Change, and the Civil Society Development Program (CSDP) initiated by Jenny Yancey and Dan Siegel in particular have made significant contributions to developing the skills and professionalism of Central and Eastern Europe's NGO leaders. These programs were all designed from their inception as a way to develop local capacity. They were never conceived as vehicles for Western consultants. The Regional Environmental Center (REC), which is based in the region but funded by the West (notably by AID and other bi-lateral assistance programs), has also made an important contribution to developing the professionalism of NGO leaders and managers. Their Environmental Management Training Center has developed a network of over 300 professional trainers in 10 countries.

Generally, local training capacity has been most successfully developed in areas such as grantwriting, foundation fundraising, financial management, project management and conflict management. Local capacity is only now being developed in the more specialized areas such as media relations for NGOs, corporate fundraising, advocacy and public participation. The REC, for example, which tends to be at the forefront because it has been in operation the longest, is just now developing a training program in public participation, with pilot projects in Bulgaria and Romania. The Democracy Network Program as well is focusing on participation and advocacy because of its broad programmatic focus on helping NGOs play an active role in the public policy process.

Where Western assistance has been liable to criticism is in its grantmaking. Of course, there are the obvious complaints that financial support is simply inadequate. There was widespread disappointment at the failure of the West to provide assistance on the scale of the Marshall Plan. But putting this aside and looking instead at the actual grantmaking that has been carried out, one of the overarching criticisms of Western assistance is that it has artificially created or strengthened certain organizations, organizations that do not necessarily respond to the interests or needs of a local constituency. In other words, that the West has imposed its values or concerns on Central and Eastern Europe. This has been the case, for example, with support from some of the women's groups, who have been accused of trying to import Western-style feminism rather than responding to the needs or wishes of local populations.

While cultural imperialism may indeed be a valid criticism, it will not likely have a profoundly negative impact in the long run because groups truly lacking local support will eventually die out once Western assistance dries up or scales back. What is more important is that Western assistance has noticeably helped level the playing field. In almost every country except for the Czech Republic, former communists have quickly consolidated their political and economic power. The impact of this will likely be felt for decades. And while former communists have in some countries or to some extent also gained control of the non-profit sector, they do not have nearly the same monopoly as in the political and economic spheres. This can largely be attributed to the support that has been provided by Western organizations.

The nonprofit sector, then, is playing a significant role in breaking the deadlock on power. It has reintroduced a plurality of voices, interests, and choices. US assistance has contributed to this process by the fact that it too has been pluralistic.
It has not been, for the most part, monolithic or uniform. A Central or Eastern European NGO that fails to connect with one US assistance provider has many other places to turn. Even government assistance has been directed through a fairly large number of different organizations, each bringing their own methods, priorities and personalities. This has further served to level the playing field.

But, if assistance from the US and from the West generally has been helpful in giving rise to a diversity of civil organizations, it may have been hurtful in raising the needs and expectations of these organizations. The current focus of most Western assistance providers, whether funders, trainers, or simply partners, is sustainability—helping to ensure the long-term survival of those organizations they have helped to get started. Yet sustainability means finding local sources of support, a far from simple task. No country in the region yet has an upper or middle class with sufficient disposable income (or inclination

toward philanthropy) to support a non-profit sector in any meaningful way. Indeed this will likely not come about for years. Moreover, most countries still do not reward philanthropic behavior with tax breaks (to be fair, in part because of the degree to which these breaks have been abused). Yet, organizations must begin to think in terms of developing local constituencies and local sources of support—whether through memberships whose fees are more symbolic than significant, or fundraising drives, or special events. Similarly, developing corporate support is also in its nascence.

Yet both individuals and corporations in Central and Eastern Europe, while they cannot give big, can give. A survey of giving in Hungary showed that 65% of the adult population either gives or volunteers outside the family.[12] Similarly, a survey of corporations in the Czech Republic showed that 90% of the companies surveyed do have philanthropic activities.[13] The problem is that the average contribution by individuals is well under $35 (indeed as small as 68¢), and the giving programs of most companies are still small as well. Not surprisingly then, few organizations in the region are motivated to launch a fundraising campaign to solicit contributions of $5 each, when they can write one grant to a Western foundation for $20,000. Nor have they learned the value of in-kind contributions, which is often the nature of corporate giving. Yet, the development of local funding sources is critical to the long-term survival of Central and Eastern Europe's NGOs. That development must inevitably start small, but it must start now.

US assistance providers can play an important role in this process of ensuring the long-term survival of Central and Eastern Europe's NGOs by requiring their grantees to begin finding local funding sources. To some extent, this has begun to happen already. A number of funders have begun to require a co-funding requirement—typically around 15%, which can be from either in-kind or cash contributions. This serves two purposes—it forces NGOs to begin thinking harder about developing local sources of funding but it also reinforces the importance of in-kind support. Kevin Quigley, in his assessment of private foundation support, comes to similar conclusions. He suggests three concrete ways in which funders can be more effective: by increasing local involvement in the design, implementation, evaluation and even financing of projects; by devoting greater attention to sustainability; and by focusing on building links between the state, business, and NGOs. Indeed the true test of the efficacy of Western support will come when their support declines or ceases. Will the NGOs that have received so much attention and support from the West be able to survive without their Western patrons?

US EFFORTS TO SUPPORT THE NGO SECTOR

Below is a brief summary of some of the principal US programs providing assistance to the NGO sector in Central and Eastern Europe.

Nongovernmental Assistance

Individual Support

Following the 1989 revolutions, thousands of Americans went to Central and Eastern Europe working as English teachers, advisers, and entrepreneurs, and many also assisted in the early phases of launching new NGOs. This assistance, while it can't be measured or quantified, should be acknowledged. Many of these individuals went to the region independently, although there were also a number of organized programs that helped bring Americans to the region, often in positions that involved NGOs. These include the Foundation for a Civil Society, the Peace Corps, the National Forum Foundation's AVID program (Americans Volunteers in International Development), the Mihai Eminescu Fellowship Program, and the Citizens Democracy Corps.

Support from Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs)

In the first phase of the transition, a number of American PVOs became involved in the region with support from USAID as well as from other sources. According to a report written on the role of these PVOs in CEE in 1993, "*...the initial round of funding concentrated, in many cases, on emergency relief to people in acute need.*"[14] Below is a sample of projects from that time:[15]

- **Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) International** ran programs to support job creation, business advisory programs, career development training, and a business incubator system.
- **Aid to Artisans** worked to create economic opportunities for craftspeople in underdeveloped economies and newly emerging democracies.

• **American Committee for AID to Poland (ACAP)** provided informational, coordinating and facilitating programs, including a program to create and maintain a viable PVO network in Poland.

• **World Vision** continues to assist Romanians in improving health care services for institutionalized children.

• **Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT)** provided vocational training for former political prisoners and family members in Albania (and currently administers the USAID Democracy Network Program in Albania).

• **Brother's Brother** ran the PVO Humanitarian/Development Assistance Initiative in Hungary.

• **American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee** also ran the PVO Humanitarian/Development Assistance Initiative.

Support from Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

In addition to assistance being provided by PVOs, a number of organizations focused specifically on civil society development:

•**Civil Society Development Program**. A training-of-trainers program that was launched in Poland and Hungary in 1994 by two Americans, Jenny Yancy and Dan Siegel, with the goal of establishing a core group of trainers in each country who would provide management training and other services to the nonprofit sector. In 1996 both programs were turned over to in-country staff.

• **Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies "Third Sector Project."** Beginning in 1993, this project provided training to emerging nonprofit sector leaders in Central and Eastern Europe. Forty-two trainers have completed the program, which includes a 6-week course in Baltimore and regional follow-up trainings. An additional fourteen have just begun training.

• **Soros Foundation.** George Soros, an Hungarian-born American citizen, has provided the largest amount of support to the civil sector through his network of Soros Foundations. The first was started in Hungary in 1984, where its principle emphasis was "to create and nurture the elements of open society, independent thinking and free expression in the areas of Hungarian culture and science.[16]

In addition, a number of organizations are providing assistance to NGOs through USAID's Democracy Network program (see below). These organizations include:

- Academy for Educational Development
- Foundation for Civil Society
- Institute for Sustainable Communities
- International Center for Not-for Profit Law
- Organization for Rehabilitation and Training
- United Way International
- US Baltic Foundation
- World Learning

US Government Assistance

• **USAID Democracy Network Program.** A $30 million/3-year program whose purpose is "to develop and strengthen the community of public policy-oriented NGOs in the CEE countries. As a result, the assisted organizations and the citizens they represent will be able to participate more actively and effectively in the political and economic life of their societies. The program outcome should be self-sustainability, after USG funding has ended, for those NGOs assisted under this program."[17] The request for applications was announced in June 1994 and country programs began in 1995. In each of the nine DemNet countries, one American NGO was selected through a competitive process to provide both grants and training to public policy NGOs. In addition, two regional programs were established, one to foster communication and cooperation among NGOs regionally and the other to improve the regulatory environment for NGOs.

• **United States Information Agency (USIA) Small Grants Program and Visitors Programs.** Prior to the establishment of AID's Democracy Network Program, many of the region's USIS offices were providing support through their Small Grants Programs to NGOs and independent policy and research institutes. In addition, through the Visitors Program, a number of NGO leaders were brought to the United States to meet their counterparts.

• **Peace Corps.** In 1994, the Peace Corps commissioned a report on the status of the NGO sector in Central and Eastern Europe. This report was in preparation for the launching of a new program by the Peace Corps to focus specifically on NGO development.

• **National Endowment for Democracy (NED)** (while NED has an independent board of directors, it is funded by the US Congress) NED conducts a wide range of democracy promotion activities. Most of its support for CEE NGOs is made through its grantee the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe, which in turn supports a number of NGOs that are part of their Centers for Pluralism network. NED also made direct grants to such nongovernmental organizations as Solidarity.

NOTES

[1] Adrian Karatncky, then director of research and publications for the Department of International Affairs of the AFL-CIO, in Freedom at Issue, quoted in *Raising the Curtain: A Guide to Independent Organizations and Contacts in Eastern Europe*, published by the World Without War Council, Seattle, WA, 1990.

[2] Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1993) p. 120.

[3] *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*, eds Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995, pp. 29-31.

[4] *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement*, published by the White House, February 1995, p. 23.

[5] Request for Applications No. EE-94-A-001 from the United States Agency for International Development, Bureau for Europe and Newly Independent States.

[6] "US Foreign Assistance Program Reform," Remarks by J.Brian Atwood given at the Center for National Policy, Washington, DC, December 14, 1994 in U.S. Department of State Dispatch, January 2, 1995, vol 6, No.1. p. 10.

[7] *Raising the Curtain: A Guide to Independent Organizations and Contacts in Eastern Europe*, published by the World Without War Council, Seattle, WA, 1990.

[8] This table reprinted from "*Foundation Grantmaking Relating to Central Europe and the Soviet Union*," by Robert P. Beschel, Jr. (A report commissioned by the Ford Foundation, The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, January 1991).

[9] Stephen G. Greene, "For U.S. Philanthropy, Opportunity in the Turmoil of Eastern Europe" in *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, Vol. II, No. 4, November 28, 1989.

[10] Thomas Carothers, *Assessing Democracy Assistance: The Case of Romania* (1996: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC) p. 89.

[11] Kevin F.F. Quigley, "For Democracy's Sake: How Funders Fail–and Succeed" in *World Policy Journal*, Spring 1996.

[12] Individual Giving and Volunteering in Hungary Central Statistical Office - Research Project on Nonprofit Organizations, Budapest, 1995, p. 31.

[13] "*Results of the Study Conducted as a Part of the Project: Support of Philanthropy in the Czech Republic*," April 1996, Donor's Forum, Prague, Czech Republic.

[14] Workshop Report: Lessons Learned & New Directions in Democracy Building: Non-Governmental Organization Development in Central & Eastern Europe Lublin, Poland, November 8-12, 1993. p. 7.

[15] ibid.

[16] From *The First Ten Years of the Soros Foundation Hungary*.

[17] Request for Applications No. EE-94-A-001 from the United States Agency for International Development, Bureau for Europe and Newly Independent States.

Building Democracy at the Local Level: The Case of Poland

by

Joanna Regulska

Local Democracy in Poland (LDP) was established in October, 1989, as a binational cooperative initiative in response to the dramatic political, economic, and social changes in Poland. It was created as a Polish-American partnership of two institutions: the newly created (August 1989) Foundation in Support of Local Democracy (FSLD), a Polish non-governmental organization; and Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.

In the fall of 1989 it became apparent to some Polish politicians that the creation of genuine local self-government was the only way of rebuilding the Polish state. It was also clear that the introduction of independent local government demanded the creation of new institutions and the spread of the ideas and principles of local democracy. While Polish society instinctively accepted these values, what was needed were the tools for their implementation. Forty-five years of totalitarian and autocratic rule prevented generations from understanding, learning and applying democratic tenets. Thus, the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy was created to be a model nongovernmental organization committed to decentralization, regional networking, and active citizenry.

Since its creation, LDP has pursued its mandate of restoring local democracy through a variety of programs supported by approximately $5.5 million in funding provided by public and private sources in the United States; among them the German Marshall Fund of the United States, The Pew Charitable Trusts, the Ford Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the United States Agency for International Development, and the United States Information Agency.

Joanna Regulska is Professor of Geography and Director of the Center for Russian, Central and East European Studies at Rutgers University. In addition, she is the Director of Local Democracy in Poland (LDP), the US representative of the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy (FSLD), and is co-chair of the Gender Studies Department of the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.
Eliza Pomiecinska, graduate student at the Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University and research assistant at the Local Democracy in Poland, provided preliminary research for this article.

Throughout seven years of intensive activities in Poland and in the United States, the partnership of LDP and FSLD has supported programs to break down the barriers that prevent citizens from re-establishing a civic society, and they have worked extensively on social, economic, and environmental issues as they apply to local self-governance. Their activities addressed the following broadly defined areas:

- Internal organization of municipal offices and legal aspects of local administration
- Conflict resolution at the local level
- Citizens' participation and the representation of minorities
- Strengthening organizational capacities of NGOs
- Women's participation in public and political life
- Land use management and environmental policy
- Local economic growth
- Local government financing
- Municipal service delivery
- Social welfare and housing policy

As a consequence of these wide-ranging activities, in the end a model NGO, committed to decentralization, regional networking, and active citizenry, has been created.

THE NEED FOR EDUCATION IN LOCAL DEMOCRACY

With the outbreak of the Second World War the functioning of local democracy, in both urban and rural areas, ceased to exist. The Stalinist legislation of the 1950's removed what remained of local democratic structures, replacing them with a vertical, centralized model of decision-making. From 1950 until the revolutions of 1989, in Poland as well as in the other former communist countries, the central government concentrated all political power in its hands, and employed local governments as mere agents in executing its directives. It was not until 1989 that political upheaval transformed the centralized totalitarian model of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) governments into democracies with tendencies towards decentralized governance. Not all CEE countries however, became equally committed to the establishment of local self-governance and local autonomy. In each national setting, political and economic pressures invoked different state responses regarding the direction of local government reform and the degree to which devolution of power to the local level took place. For example, Poland chose to first establish a new legislative framework for local government and only afterwards to hold local elections. Thousands of local officials with strong commitments to democratic principles but little administrative experiences for implementing their newly gained responsibilities came to power through local elections held in May of 1990. Such a sequence of events permitted newly elected local officials to begin the process of rebuilding local self-government within new legal and institutional structures. The Czech Republic on the other hand first held local elections and only subsequently embarked on re-designing its local government, extending therefore the existence of old structures and of old central-local relations. In Bulgaria and Romania, local elections were also held, but local governments remained controlled by central level institutions, with only discretionary power devolved to the local level.

Polish local self-government was created and began to operate under very difficult conditions. While extensive legal changes had been proposed and approved by the Polish Parliament, and local elections resulted in an overwhelming change of office holders, several barriers still existed. First, the power boundaries between the national and local governments were unclear, with many responsibilities guided by conflicting legislative and administrative regulations. Second, the questions of assignment involved not only issues of the distribution of political power at the central or local level, but most importantly of fiscal control: who will control revenues? and who will distribute them? Thirdly, the experience and skills of local government officials were very limited for two reasons: the great majority of elected officials were first time public office holders and the institutions for which they worked were newly restructured. In practice it meant that not only did newly elected officials not know and not understand the new laws, rules and procedures but also that the new laws were still in the making.

The task, then, was almost impossible to achieve: how to provide, within a short period of time, training to a vast number of people without Polish models to apply, with limited human and fiscal resources that could be used, and without the

knowledge of what kind of central-local relations Poland would finally settle for. LDP-FSLD partnership believed that the establishment of genuine democracy at the local level depended upon an accountable and transparent local government administered by highly skilled and professional cadre, and upon citizens' understanding of and ability to act within a local self-government system. In practice it meant that LDP's work aimed at insuring the endurance of the new reforms through the creation of institutions that provide training for local officials and public administrators, and increasing the access to information and expertise about local government to the population. The creation of this two-way flow of skills, information and initiatives became the central mission of LDP.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MISSION: PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

From its inception, LDP work has been based on several principles:

- the need to develop and implement programs that both address specific Polish needs and provide the most relevant US expertise;
- to adapt American experiences to Polish circumstances before their implementation;
- to emphasize programs that disseminate practical knowledge and information to large number of Polish participants; and
- to encourage programs that enhance Polish partners' capacities to institutionalize these and other activities at the local level.

An additional requirement was added during the early stage of LDP's work: programs are to be designed in such a way as to provide for the rapid transfer of skills and expertise.

These programmatic, organizational and technical requirements resulted in the development of multiple mechanisms through which set goals could be fulfilled. LDP's activities focused on:

- designing new innovative training modules and providing assistance for their implementation;
- developing training materials and professional literature;
- conducting research on the process of political decentralization and on the barriers to citizens participation; and,
- serving as a clearinghouse for information to scholars, policy makers, politicians, and practitioners both in the United States and in Poland.

Training Philosophy, Methods and Practices

Recognizing the human and financial barriers that existed in Poland in the early transitionary period, LDP-FSLD worked to realize their mission through a multistage strategy. The first phase required a rapid transfer of skills and knowledge. This could only be accomplished by mobilizing foreign professionals. In the second phase (1991-92), Polish-American partnerships were created where Polish trainers with the assistance of their American colleagues began developing the capability for in-country training. In the third stage, (1992-94) during subsequent cycles of Training-of-Trainers (TOT), Poles took upon themselves more responsibility for the development of training programs, and American professionals were used only when the topics and general outline of work were agreed upon in advance by Polish trainers. In the fourth stage (1994/95), a leading role was given to Polish trainers to design, develop and deliver training. This long-term strategy was made possible by a multi-year cooperative agreement with USAID, for which steady funding was assured.

What made LDP training modules different from those developed by the others, especially in the early years of transition, was the emphasis on reaching ultimate self-sustainability of Polish institutions and providing a sense of ownership of the programs. This was accomplished through a variety of means. For example, instead of going the traditional route and hiring a large number of US consultants, LDP mobilized members of the Polish-American professional community who had expertise in local governance, spoke Polish, and were willing to begin work immediately. This innovation proved extremely successful and aided the delivery of over 110 lectures and 120 courses and seminars to about 2,500 newly elected local officials in Poland. Fifteen Polish-American professionals covered wide ranging topics such as roles and responsibilities of the elected officials, preparation of city regulations, democracy and citizens' participation, local economic growth and local financing, service delivery and environmental protection.

From the beginning, training took place both in Poland and in the US, permitting the constant flow of new ideas, information and the reinforcement of

trainers' skills. Often TOT graduates would have the opportunity to participate in 6-week internships in the United States, and the recipient of United States training would commit him or herself to continue expanding their training skills in Poland upon their return. The regular flow of specialists in both direction provided a sense of stability, growth and professionalization of the training trade. Indeed, since 1989, over 100 Polish-American and American professionals have delivered a variety of seminars and workshops pertinent to enhancing training capacities of FSLD and its Regional Training Center network. By 1996 a corps of Polish trainers well-versed in adult education and interactive training methods were delivering in Polish thousands of courses such as Management and Organization of Service Delivery, Local Financing and Budgeting, Safety and Hygiene at the Workplace, Informational Policy at the Local Level, Civic Education and Citizens Participation, Civic Education at the Elementary Level or NGO Institution Building. In 1996 over 150 course titles are available from FSLD centers, and over 150,000 people have participated in almost 5,000 courses offered by FSLD. [1]

The development of high quality, diversified training relevant to local government could not have taken place so rapidly if not for access to on-site US and foreign experiences. Training and internship programs developed by LDP and delivered jointly with many US institutions emphasized first of all the practical, hands on experiences in local government.[2] Since 1990, over 150 Polish local government officials, or Fellows, have come to the United States under the auspices of FSLD, more than 50 as participants of a very successful internship program run by Milwaukee County Government.

Typically the Fellows who have come to Rutgers have been selected in Poland by the FSLD through its network of 15 RTCs. After preliminary orientation at FSLD offices in Poland, the Fellows have a week's introductory instruction at Rutgers University, or at one of the other cooperating institutions. The emphasis is put on examining the structure of US local government and the division of responsibilities among different levels of government, on the relevant legislation and on issues, barriers and difficulties that are pertinent to the topic of the internship.

The introductory week is followed by internships in local government offices selected according to Fellows' interests. Each training program lasts 4-6 weeks. Following a final debriefing in the United States, the Fellows return home, where they are expected to share their newly gained knowledge with others. Previous groups of interns have focused on environmental issues, local economic development, municipal service delivery, community development programs, nonprofit organizations, business incubators and farming. At the conclusion of the program, participants design follow-up activities to be conducted in Poland. In some cases these were group projects and in others, individual plans of action.

As discussed earlier, LDP strongly believes that in order to sustain democratic practices multi-actor partnerships need to be developed at the community level. Clearly the technical expertise of local government officials would be insufficient to secure democracy; it also requires a citizenry that is committed to and also understands the responsibilities and freedoms brought by new democratic systems. Through its series of programs on citizens' participation, LDP has focused its activities on building local leadership and strengthening local NGOs in the belief that these are the other crucial local nodes of power. By training NGOs to be well-organized, accountable and professional, local policies and development programs will be more transparent and stronger, and they will then, in turn, have more influence at the national level. Through training, NGOs will have the tools to identify the mission, goals, objectives, and a strategy to implement their workplan. From there, they will then be able to write proposals for their work to obtain funding. During the implementation of their projects, they will know how to more effectively communicate with the public and influence decision makers, and they will obtain respect for their role in democratic decision making. Their work and time will be more effectively allocated. Most importantly, strong NGOs will not only influence the policy-making process but will provide training grounds for citizens to become leaders. LDP/FSLD programs on citizens participation, funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts and Andrew W. Mellon Foundation accomplished precisely that.[3]

Development of Educational Materials and Professional Literature

The development and distribution of written and audio-visual educational materials constitutes LDP's most widely accessible outcome. The commitment to create Polish language training resources and professional literature has been an integral part of all LDP programs. For example, a series of ten unique training videotapes featuring Polish-speaking American experts was developed as a part of the initial, post-1990 election training program sponsored by USIA. Each tape addressed one specific topic of interest to local administrators. The tapes covered issues such as the responsibilities and legal obligations of local government, local finances, local economic growth, ways in which local government can satisfy citizens needs, citizens' participation, technical infrastructure and urban planning. Subsequently, a second series of tapes were developed. While Polish-American specialists were also featured, the focus this time was on concrete problems and their solutions. The experts involved visited Poland beforehand and delivered several seminars on these topics. They also met with Polish specialists and local government officials engaged in solving that particular issue. Equipped with local knowledge, the specialists returned to the United States and jointly with LDP designed a series of one-half hour long training materials. The topics covered under the second series included water protection and the citizens responsibilities of housing cooperatives and their maintenance, and construction of waste management facilities.

After returning from their US training, fellows also contributed significantly to the preparation of Polish-language manuals based on their US experiences. For example, a volume on US local government "Local Government and Economy in the United States" has been jointly published by LDP/FSLD as a result of an internship program funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts. Another volume on environmental planning "Environmental Protection and Urban Planning in the United States" was an outcome of the three-year Rockefeller Brothers Fund program. Most recently two volumes written by trainers on Informational Policy on Local Level, "*Like Beans Against the Wall: Informational Policy of Local Government*" and "*How to Take Action?: A Guide to Citizens' Participation*" were jointly prepared and published by LDP and FSLD. A third one on "*Local Economic Development*" will be available at the end of 1996.

LDP has also assisted FSLD in the development of an on-line databank linking all the regional training centers, the development of a Training Resource Library at the FSLD's Warsaw Offices and has worked closely with Training-of-Trainers participants on the development of TOT materials.

Collaborative Research

The long-term goal of LDP's scholarly activities is to advance the development of collaborative research and new academic curriculums in public administration, public policy and related disciplines. To this end, LDP has been engaged in fostering regional dialogues among scholars, policy-makers and practitioners and has conducted research on the process of decentralization, the barriers to citizens' participation during the political and economic restructuring, and on the impediments to the increased representation of women in political and public life in Central and Eastern Europe.

Influencing the development of national and local policy concerning local government reform in Central and Eastern Europe has not only been a principal outcome of LDP/FSLD training activities, but it has also reinforced the need for fostering the linkages between practice and theory. Indeed the transition from centralized to decentralized authority poses several theoretical and policy questions that could only be generated when practical experiences began to accumulate: How is responsibility for social services apportioned between local and central authorities and what consequences will this assignment have on different population subgroups? What constitutes and who controls the revenues of local governments? How much control do local governments exert over the process of economic restructuring? What is the fallout from uneven development under communism? What efforts should be made to encourage citizens' participation and why do citizens continue to resist such participation? What measures should be taken to insure fair minority representation? These are questions of global interest, but they are conditioned by local circumstances, local histories and cultures. Economic and political transformations are embedded in particular social and cultural contexts and therefore require examination of how these local conditions and cultures impacted process of transformation.

The transitionary period also raised some crucial questions regarding the role of researchers and social scientists in shaping the course of the changes: the linkage between decentralization and the democratization process required their immediate attention. What is the nature of the connection between the two and, what direction should it take?
What is the context of this relationship in the individual states of the region and which factors inhibit local democracy and autonomy? The central research questions were addressed by focusing on the development of a theoretical framework of comparative research in the area of local self-governance in which the individual's place is not ignored. This type of comparative analysis of the democratization process has been successful in both Latin America and Western Europe and, in particular, Portugal and Spain. Understandably, these kinds of analyses have just begun in Central and Eastern Europe.

Conferences organized by LDP/FSLD addressed the above issues by bringing together diverse audiences. The 1992 conference "From Centralism to Local Democracy," brought together 75 practitioners and policy-makers from 13 countries of Central and East Europe and the former Soviet Union. The gathering examined barriers associated with implementation of local government reform, discussed the framework for international cooperation among the countries of the region and the global community and explored the numerous training and educational needs required for implementation of local government reform.[4] The 1995 conference "Decentralization and Democratization: Four Years of Local Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe" also organized by LDP and FSLD and held in Krakow predominantly brought together scholars from CEE countries who are engaged in exploring research questions stemming from already accumulated decentralization experiences. The lack of systematic data, long-term comparative research and analysis of the restructuring of central-local relations prompted researchers affiliated with LDP to invite their colleagues from the region to this three day conference.

The LDP/FSLD partnership worked also with the Center for Public Opinion Survey, to develop a nationwide survey on the strengths and weaknesses of the four-year old local government reform as seen by local officials. Not only was this the first survey of its kind, given that local government reform was in itself new. But, what made it further unique was the gender dimension added by LDP. For the first time it became possible to examine gender differences in the attitudes and performance of local government officials.

Clearinghouse

LDP has become highly regarded as a repository and a source of policy initiatives for US organizations involved in local government issues. The program acts as a clearinghouse to promote greater access to information and research on specific subjects such as the process of decentralization in CEE, self-governance, gender relations, and on a wider spectrum of national, political, and economic events. LDP established an excellent collection of current literature on self-government, civil society at the grassroots level, womens' participation in and impact on the current transition and other issues pertinent to the reforms in Central and Eastern Europe. Many of the collected resources were made for wider distribution but are still in manuscript form as they were prepared for urgent, specific tasks and await final publication. LDP subscribes to Polish-language newspapers, journals, and Public Opinion Surveys enriching the existing collection and deepening its specific focus.

LDP staff have responded to requests for information coming from individual scholars, students and the general public interested in the region, organizations beginning to set up programs, as well as US government agencies evaluating the effectiveness of their programs. Requests also come from the other direction, as CEE institutions seek partners and advice in setting up programs and replicating training activities within their own countries.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

Local Democracy in Poland and its partner organization FSLD, were both founded to support democratic institution building in Poland. Over time, however, their experiences have become an example for other countries in the region wishing to develop a decentralized local democracy.

Forty-five years of totalitarian, centralized, and command authority led to the emergence of a similar

legislative and institutional framework. However, under the current process of re-establishing national identity and resurrecting the cultural heritage of each nation, tension, conflict, and hatred between former "brothers and sisters" were inevitable and had a detrimental effect on regional cooperation.

By 1993-94, there were signs that the legacies of the past were slowly subsiding. An expansion of the geographical focus of LDP activities began and a more regular regional transfer of skills and knowledge took place–LDP/FSLD's "East-East" program became formalized during 1993-94. LDP assisted training activities in the Baltic Republics, Belarus, Ukraine, Albania and Slovakia. FSLD's bi-lateral exchanges occurred over the last several years with local government officials from Belarus, Lithuania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Czech Republic and Latvia. Visits in Poland by local government officials from Lithuania, Ukraine, Slovakia and Hungary to discuss further collaboration in the area of local self-governance and citizens participation programs took place. In Slovakia and Romania several programs are patterned on the FSLD example.

Other Polish NGOs joined in and in 1994, a joint project of FSLD/LDP and the Batory Foundation East-East program was developed. A Group of 50 local government officials from the Baltic Republics, Ukraine, Belarus, Romania and Slovakia participated in week-long internships at RTC's in Kielce, Gdansk, Szczecin, Lublin and Krakow. The visitors participated in training, meetings with local government officials and explored possible ways to continue future collaboration. What is important in these developments is the fact that individual RTCs began not only to share within the FSLD network but feel that they can share with the neighbors across the border (e.g.,Lublin and Kiev, Ukraine; Bialystok and Minsk, Belarus; Gdansk and Baltic Republics, Krakow and Slovakia).

CONCLUSIONS

After seven years of reforms, LDP/FSLD partnership has made contributions to the establishment of local self-government in Poland, by addressing many problems, such as the lack of training for local government officials, ignorance of the importance of public policy advocacy and networking, lack of pragmatic training in specific organizational and administrative skills, as well as the technical know-how that deals with specific issues at the local level. The effort of this partnership and of the programs conducted by hundreds of other NGOs is that local communities recognized that they have a life of their own without constantly looking to the central government for directives. They are beginning the long process of organizing local government around the needs of the people living in the community.

As expected, such a transitional period is not without setbacks and difficulties. Local elections have not always been the catalyst to break the communist system. In some countries, fiscal rights, considered by many as an essential pre-requisite for protection of local autonomy, have not been achieved. On the other hand, free democratic local elections were held in all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, legislation establishing local self-government was enacted and to varying degrees, constitutions provided new rights for local government. Most importantly, people began to look differently at their local environment. Although uncertain about the national political scene and often angry and frustrated with the outcomes of economic transition, people do see progress. In surveys conducted regularly by CBOS, the Polish opinion research firm, Poles indicated local government as their most stable public institution, the only one that consistently throughout the seven year period received a higher approval than disapproval rate.[5] In another CBOS survey comparing local government attitudes now and in pre-1989 regimes, Poles again ranked the performance of current local government officials as more effective and more engaged in community affairs.

This does not mean, however, that the project of "local government" is complete. The creation of new local systems implies that new ways of thinking and new values, attitudes and behaviors will emerge among both those who govern and those who are governed. Issues of class, race, ethnicity and gender have emerged with unprecedented strength, but as many examples have shown, they are the vital forces for sustaining democratic practices. The future of self-governance calls also for the central government to relinquish and devolve its power to the local level, so that local initiative and self-determination, instead of the application of central directives and policies, can prevail. Finally, while seven years ago it was mandatory to address immediate needs for training and technical assistance, it is now more critical to

put the emphasis on institutional capacity building, networking and collaboration among many partners that can bond a strong civil society and provide for self sustainability.

NOTES

[1] Foundation of Support of Local Democracy, 1995. Annual Report 1995. Warsaw, Poland.

[2] US institutions collaborating with LDP
Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies, University of Maryland
Community Development Training Institute
Institute for Policy Studies, Johns Hopkins University
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
League of Women Voters
Milwaukee County Government
National Association of Housing and Development Officials
National Association of Towns and Townships
National League of Cities
New Community Corporation
New Jersey Institute of Technology
Sister-Cities International
Stevens Institute of Technology
US Conference of Mayors

[3] Grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts: "*Citizens' Participation in Poland - Toward a Civil Society. The Case of the Small and Medium-sized Cities,*" November 1993 - February 1996. The project was designed to encourage local citizens to become actively involved in the rebuilding of their communities. A resource guide, "Jak Wziac sie do Dziela?" (How to take action?) was published.

Grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation: "*Citizen's Participation and the Promotion of Local Economic Development,*" October 1994 - October 1996. The grant provides funding for specialized economic development training and technical assistance in 10 selected countries. A resource guide is planned.

[4] Graham, A. (ed.) 1992. *From Centralism to Local Democracy,* Proceedings, International Workshop on Local Government Reforms in Central and Eastern Europe, March 24-27, 1992. Krakow, Poland.

[5] Regulska, J. 1995. *Decentralization or Deconcentration: Struggle for Political Power in Poland,* presented at a conference sponsored by the Development Alternatives, Inc. Washington, DC (June).

Promoting and Protecting Human Rights through Development: A Model for Technical Assistance to NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe

by

Edwin Rekosh

Human rights and development are often linked in the abstract. Yet, international organizations working to protect and promote human rights seldom heed the development needs of the colleague organizations on which they so often rely. At the same time, international development organizations working to build strong non-governmental sectors in Central and Eastern Europe rarely focus on the substantive issues of interest to the nongovernmental organizations they are supporting.

The International Human Rights Law Group, however, has developed a successful model of technical assistance which marries a typical human rights networking method to a traditional developmental approach. The model may be helpful for those providing assistance not only to human rights groups but to other NGOs as well. Indeed, a number of initiatives undertaken in the last few years appear to be following similar models.

Human rights groups comprise a somewhat unique category of NGOs. They tend to operate both on international and national levels, and they receive moral support and technical assistance from the more established human rights NGOs by forming information-sharing relationships with them. For example, a small, newly formed human rights group may see its stature improve dramatically, both domestically and internationally, once Amnesty International has independently determined that its reports are credible, reproduced its information and perhaps cited the group's findings to national authorities.

Thus, some of the major international human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch, support the development of

Edwin Rekosh is a human rights lawyer in New York where he is a consultant to the Open Society Institute and the Ford Foundation. He was formerly Director of European Projects for the Washington D.C.-based International Human Rights Law Group and was based in Bucharest, Romania between 1992 and 1995.

human rights groups simply by conducting their normal activities. An international human rights group may meet with national groups while conducting a fact-finding mission in the field; it may stay in constant contact to exchange information about current human rights developments; it may even engage in joint activities from time to time, such as teaming up to conduct a fact-finding mission. Furthermore, established international human rights groups will often come to the defense of individual human rights advocates or organizations that are themselves the victims of human rights abuse. They also provide moral support and the protection of international recognition to selected human rights advocates by bestowing annual awards or other honors.

This kind of support for developing human rights groups might be termed the human rights networking method. It pertains to Eastern Europe, as it does throughout the world. Before 1989, the human rights network in Eastern Europe was comprised largely of individuals, organizations or movements generally termed "dissident." Along with the rest of the changes that rapidly unfolded in Eastern Europe after 1989, loosely constructed, underground dissident movements became formal, professional institutions. Completely new organizations formed, too, without necessarily having links to past dissident activities. The international human rights network continues to collaborate with these groups as it did with their predecessors. The key difference is that since 1989 such contact has been made openly and without fear of reprisals.

The human rights networking method is, in many cases, crucial to the continued existence and strengthening of indigenous human rights groups. Nevertheless, its supportive nature is ancillary to the overriding objective of most international human rights organizations, namely to report on, advocate, protect and promote human rights around the world. In contrast, donors and other institutions interested in traditional development work tend to take a wider perspective. They are first and foremost interested in the creation, strengthening and sustaining of new institutions. In the case of human rights, a developmental approach would emphasize the effectiveness and stature of indigenous organizations rather than immediate improvements in the host country's observance of human rights. Of course, the protection and promotion of human rights are the overarching, long-term objectives. However, immediate improvement in the human rights record of a given country would not be the primary measure of a successful and sustainable development project.

THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP'S ROMANIA PROJECT

Between 1991 and 1993, with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Law Group placed a series of human rights lawyers in Romania to work collaboratively with partner organizations among Romania's nascent human rights community.

The origin and evolution of the project illustrate the experimental nature of the endeavor. The Law Group had conducted an extensive election-monitoring mission during Romania's first post-communist elections in May 1990. During the mission, Romanian lawyers and other members of an incipient civil society expressed a need for practical human rights training. The Law Group responded to the need, with the support of the German Marshall Fund, by placing an American human rights lawyer in Bucharest for six months. His original objective was to lay the groundwork for a conference on human rights lawyering. However, the representative soon discovered that it would be far more fruitful to provide on-going consultations to the newly formed and tentatively organized human rights initiatives over a period of time rather than to organize a one-off conference.

In the first phase of the project, the representative began a dialogue with the supporters of a number of nascent human rights initiatives about strategies, techniques and substantive human rights topics. The political context at the time was extremely chaotic, and the distinction between human rights work and political activity was fuzzy, even in the minds of the newly minted human rights leaders. Probably the most important achievements during this phase were to introduce new human rights concepts and skills such as fact-finding and reporting and to provide moral support.

In the second phase, two representatives worked with the young human rights organizations to help develop their skills and strategies in a more concrete way, most fruitfully manifest in a domestic monitoring

campaign for local elections in the Spring of 1992. One attorney was based in Bucharest, and the other focused attention on two smaller cities in Transylvania in an effort to foster human rights networking on a more national level. Each representative formed collegial relationships with a number of Romanian counterparts and worked together with them to devise organizational strategies and to solve problems as they arose.

The efforts of indigenous human rights and pro-democracy groups to monitor the 1992 local elections captured the public imagination and brought about a wave of enthusiasm for human rights, democracy and other ideals long buried in Romania's past. The media covered NGO protests and critiques of electoral developments on a regular basis in the months leading up to the elections. By the time the elections took place, the findings of the well-organized and extensive network of domestic election monitors were widely sought after. As a result, indigenous groups received an important infusion of credibility and self-esteem.

In the third phase, the Law Group again placed two human rights attorneys in Romania, with one of them based in Bucharest and the other in Transylvania, to continue the close working relationships that had developed with its partners. Attention during this phase was focused on a domestic monitoring effort for the fall 1992 national elections and subsequently on building the capacities of human rights groups to engage in advocacy directed at the newly elected Parliament. The effort to build a lobbying capacity proved successful with at least one human rights organization, the Romanian Helsinki Committee. In this period, Romanian human rights groups began to mature into institutions with well-developed programs of human rights activity having specific objectives, such as human rights education in secondary school or monitoring police abuse. Indeed, the Romanian Helsinki Committee, now one of the strongest human rights groups in the region, is an example of the success obtained by some partners in creating sustainable and effective institutions and programs. On the other hand, not all of the activities have proven sustainable. Some organizations suffered from poor management or lack of adequate staffing. Others focused on new priorities. An effort to reinforce a nationwide network of human rights advocates–prompting the Law Group to maintain representatives in Transylvania–failed to materialize as hoped for due to a combination of factors, including the centralized nature of Romanian society, a lack of reliable local contacts, and rivalries among groups and individuals.

Yet, recognizing that its initial objectives were largely achieved, the Law Group discontinued its program of intensive assistance to Romanian human rights groups in 1993 and turned its attention to a regional initiative based on the Romanian experience with human rights lobbying.

THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP MODEL

The Law Group's Romania Project represented a new approach to human rights advocacy placing emphasis on supporting the development of partner institutions. This approach now has a firm place within the organization's mandate. Indeed, the Law Group soon began to apply its experience in Romania to other countries, such as Cambodia and Zaire. The project in Romania took shape gradually over time, flexibly adjusting to the rapidly changing environment and evolving as various needs became clear. There are, however, a number of lessons that can be distilled from the experience.

Singling out a sector versus generalized assistance

Throughout its program of technical assistance to Romanian human rights groups, the Law Group consciously avoided any large-scale training designed to enhance the development of NGOs generally. Although the development of strong NGOs as a vital component of civil society was an important over-arching goal, the strategy adopted was to concentrate on strengthening the organizations that share common interests–namely human rights groups–with the hope that a strong human rights community would enhance the overall development of NGOs.

The main advantage of such a strategy is that it creates a natural partnership that can sometimes be more effective in transplanting skills than formalized training.

Too often, formal training sessions focus on transferring a rigid, pre-digested set of techniques from one context to another. In such circumstances, the newly acquired expertise seldom leaves the classroom. A genuine partnership between NGOs, on the other hand, places emphasis on a shared goal. The best means for achieving that goal then becomes the object of a mutual learning experience over time grounded in each partner's knowledge and skills.

In contrast, there are a number of programs currently being implemented with the objective of providing training in important, general NGO skills, such as fundraising, NGO management, grassroots organizing, etc. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), for example, has begun to support these kinds of activities on a large scale through its Democracy Network Program. Although this kind of training is helpful, especially to organizations that have outgrown their capacity to effectively manage their activities and are seeking such assistance, the Law Group believes its model to be more effective at the stage when organizations are just beginning to form.

Collaboration versus training

An indicated above, the approach necessarily favors collaboration over training. The main distinction between these methods is in the format of the assistance. Most of the "training" undertaken consisted of on-going consultations and joint activities. For instance, in order to enhance the ability of Romanian groups to monitor the fairness of elections, the Law Group participated in the organization of a Romanian-led network of domestic election monitors. In order to improve the capacity of Romanian human rights groups to monitor and report on human rights violations, representatives conducted numerous joint fact-finding initiatives with Romanian partners. As a result, a natural, two-way learning process developed, with a genuine exchange of knowledge and skills.

Mediating conflicts among the groups and with authorities

One of the most important aspects of the Group's activities in Romania was to mediate conflicts that inhibited the development of human rights groups. There were two principal forms of conflict, both of which stemmed largely from a culture of suspicion generated by decades under one of the harsher variants of communist rule. First, the groups themselves distrusted each other, a tendency exacerbated by a natural competition for recognition, funding and support. Although the Law Group soon learned that close cooperation among the groups was unrealistic and probably inappropriate, it was able to encourage better communication and help to diminish antagonism between the groups. By convening regular meetings among NGOs with similar objectives, the Law Group was able to help smooth over some of the rivalries and overcome mutual suspicions. Second, the high degree of polarization that followed the dramatic political changes in 1989 and 1990 resulted in an unhealthy mutual distrust between NGOs and the Romanian government. Romanian authorities considered human rights groups (and by extrapolation all NGOs) to be allied with opposition parties bent on destabilizing the government.

For their part, most human rights groups considered the government to represent a continuation of the prior regime committed to maintaining power at all costs and willing to employ repressive tactics toward that end. The Law Group was able to help foster a more constructive dialogue between NGOs and the Romanian authorities through a number of techniques, including using its prestige and credibility as an international NGO to open doors–quite literally–for Romanian groups. The Law Group also acted as a model for respectful and constructive (and at the same time vigorous) engagement with the authorities and encouraged Romanian groups to appreciate the value of dialogue. To play such a role, it was necessary to be perceived by the authorities as a fairly neutral outsider with international credibility, even while it strived to garner the trust of the human rights groups.

One of the most rewarding developments within the Romanian NGO sector has been the evolution in attitudes on both sides of the governmental/non-governmental divide. The Romanian Helsinki Committee, for example, now holds regular roundtable discussions on timely human rights topics with the participation of a wide range of politicians and state officials.

The value of new ideas

To some degree, the Law Group was able to contribute to the development of human rights groups in Romania by offering new ideas about possible NGO activities, tactics, management techniques and fundraising strategies. Of course, the lion's share of credit for innovation and institution-building goes to the creative, energetic and highly motivated staffs of the various human rights groups. But the Law Group helped by serving as a "brainstorming" partner for resolving acute crises and charting the future direction of nascent groups. In some cases, the comparative experience of a foreign human rights advocate was helpful in devising priorities, programs and projects.

The introduction of human rights lobbying in the Romanian parliament provides a good example. In 1992, the very idea that there might be a role for nongovernmental organizations in the legislative process in Romania was virtually unthinkable, to parliamentarians and NGOs alike. The Law Group, in collaboration with several interested partners, developed a strategy over time to introduce and promote the concept. The first step turned out to be a fight for "legislative transparency:" access to the raw materials of the legislative process, such as bills and other official documents, and to the parliamentary sessions themselves. Gradually, as NGOs obtained access to the working documents of the parliament, analyzed them, and began to mobilize public opinion with respect to legislative developments of concern, the utility of the entire enterprise became quite clear.

The ongoing relationship between the Law Group and its partners was an important part of this process. Unfamiliar ideas take time to understand and accept and often require the gradual erosion of old habits. Adapting them to the local context also takes time; a pure American-style approach to lobbying, for instance, would never have worked in the Romanian political system. Indeed, many of the new ideas may be ultimately rejected, either because they are not consistent with the priorities of the partner organizations or they are not feasible. Still, as the example of human rights lobbying demonstrates, the devotion of extensive time and effort to the exchange of ideas enhances the likelihood of successful innovation.

The value of moral support

To a large degree, the principal benefit received by human rights groups from the organization's presence in Romania was moral support. The Law Group provided important encouragement and validation to new organizations struggling in a chaotic environment with concepts and methods that were–for the most partbrand new to them. Although hard to measure in objective terms, that role was extremely important for individuals and groups that were facing immense sources of insecurity on the political, economic, emotional, psychological and physical levels.

Staying out of the limelight

Crucial to the overall objective of the Romania Project was to avoid overshadowing the partners. Sometimes this required a delicate balance when trying to harness the good will bestowed on the Law Group as an internationally recognized NGO while staying largely in the background at the same time. There was a highly subjective aspect to this policy, implementation of which took the form of interpersonal relations and the subtle messages that were sent to Romanian officials, diplomats, funders, the Romanian media and the Romanian NGO community. An important element was to avoid one of the NGO field's endemic hazards: claiming credit. Although the Law Group faces all the difficulties inherent in the competition for recognition and funds that any NGO experiences, it tried to avoid claiming undue credit for successful joint activities with partner NGOs.

Keeping a healthy distance

Although the Law Group became intimately involved in many of the Romanian human rights groups' daily activities and management decisions, it tried to keep some distance as well. While maintaining such a policy was at times a balancing act, the Law Group tried to avoid any action that undermined the notion that its partners were independent organizations with their own agendas and priorities. Such a policy was crucial to maintaining a genuine collaboration, ensuring that assistance was relied on only to the extent needed, and in the long run, proved conducive to the sustainability of at least some aspects of the program. This task was perhaps

made easier by the fact that the Law Group was not a conduit for any financial support even if it received funding from some of the same sources as its partners.

Built-in obsolescence: making support sustainable

From the beginning, the Law Group considered its Romania Project to have a limited duration. Determining the optimal length, however, was much more difficult. Although progress was assessed on a periodic basis, the continuing value of the assistance was hard to measure in objective terms. In the end, the decision to cease activities was determined largely by feedback from the partners.

Since it determined early on that its success would be measured by the degree to which its assistance was eventually outgrown, the Law Group achieved its objectives. In this sense, the model includes an element of built-in obsolescence.

SIMILAR INITIATIVES

In the last few years, a number of initiatives have begun to support human rights organizations in Eastern Europe in a manner that is similar to the model described above. Indeed, in 1993, the European Union's PHARE Democracy Program began sponsoring "macro-projects" which pair Eastern and Western NGOs in joint projects.

The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) and Article 19– International Centre Against Censorship, are among the Western organizations that have taken advantage of European Union funding, as well as other sources, to support human rights groups in Eastern Europe through collaborative projects.

The IHF is an umbrella organization for national Helsinki Committees throughout Europe, North America and the former Soviet Union. Through a series of projects, such as "Strengthening Legal Representation and Tolerance in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary" and "European and International Human Rights Standards and Their Implementation in the Baltic States," it seeks to build on its network of NGOs and strengthen the capacities of its member organizations as well as other human rights groups to respond to human rights violations. Article 19, a London-based free expression group, has a program of support which targets organizations concerned about free expression rights in particular. With funding from the European Union, Article 19 has cultivated and supported a network of journalistic organizations and human rights groups in Eastern Europe through a series of seminars and joint monitoring activities.

In the area of environmental advocacy, the Environmental Law Program of the American Bar Association's Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI) has established, from a base in Budapest, a program of activities that supports the work of environmental advocacy organizations throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Activities include networking, acting as a clearinghouse for information about environmental law and supporting precedent-setting advocacy.

The Network for East-West Women has served a long-standing role as an informal support network for women's rights organizations. In addition to general networking activities, a number of the network's members have provided in-country assistance to indigenous groups.

In each of the initiatives described above, the networking function is just one part of the technical assistance provided. Networking alone can be an important tool to foster NGO development. But the most effective and sustainable developmental assistance stems from a close collaboration and partnership in the pursuit of joint objectives.

CONCLUSIONS

A rather unique characteristic of the Law Group's Romania Project was the degree to which it involved placing western NGO representatives in one country for a lengthy, sustained period. The main benefit of that approach, as discussed earlier, was the opportunity for a mutual learning experience which evolved over time. In the case of Romania in the early 1990s, such a long-term and sustained engagement was necessary in order to address the problems inherent to a nascent community of NGOs in a rapidly changing environment.

In order for a project designed along such lines to succeed, however, appropriate local conditions must exist. Using the Law Group's experience in Romania as a guide, it appears that conducive local conditions would include: (1) the existence of partner organizations or potential partner organizations which are

already motivated to achieve the object of collaboration; (2) a relatively low level of maturity in the development of the partner organizations; and (3) local political conditions enabling a foreign organization to collaborate closely and productively with local partners. Another factor to consider is the degree to which the object of collaboration, whether it is human rights, environmental advocacy, women's rights or some other goal, is already backed up by an international network that will continue to support partner organizations once the period of intensive assistance has ended. Further, it is important to continually keep in mind the primary goal of such assistance: to strengthen indigenous capacities. The duration of projects should be limited, their implementation should be flexible enough to respond to changing needs and circumstances, and success should be measured by the project's inevitable obsolescence.

Organizations Mentioned in the Article

International Human Rights Law Group

1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 700
Washington, DC 20009
USA
Tel: (202) 232-8500
Fax: (202) 232-6731
E-Mail: lawgroup@igc.apc.org
Gay McDougall, Executive Director

International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights

Rummelhardt gasse 2/18
A-1090 Vienna
Austria
Tel: (43-1) 402-7387; (43-1) 408-8822
Fax: (43-1) 408-7444
E-Mail: helsinki@ping.at
Aaron Rhodes, Executive Director

Article 19-International Centre Against Censorship

Lancaster House
33 Islington High St.
London N1 9LH
United Kingdom
Tel: (44-171) 278-9272
Fax: (44-171) 713-1356
Frances D'Souza, Executive Director

American Bar Association–Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)

1800 M Street, NW
Suite 2000
Washington, DC 20036
USA
Tel: (202) 331-2292
Fax: (202) 862-8533
Mark Ellis, Executive Director

Network for East-West Women

1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 302
Washington, DC 20009
USA
Tel: (202) 265-3585
Fax: (202) 667-3291
E-Mail: neww@igc.apc.org
Contact: Shana Penn

Program Data

The data in this section represents the results of the ECE Information Exchange's efforts to collect information on training programs related to democratization, the rule of law and civil society. Included in the listing are both ongoing and completed projects that were undertaken during the period, January 1, 1990 - December 31, 1995. The data was collected from funding agencies and a program survey which was distributed to over 300 organizations in the United States and East Central Europe. (A sample of the program survey follows.)

The information is presented in two forms. First, the Programs and Connections section presents detailed information on 45 major programs. Programs are listed in alphabetical order by organization. Included in each listing are contact information, a short summary of the program, the funding sources and other pertinent information.

Second, the Program Listings section presents data on over 227 programs funded by US governmental and private resources. This listing is provided in a table format and includes the following headings: *Organization, Program Name, Address, Phone/Fax, Field of Activity* and *Countries*. Programs that are also included within the Programs and Connections section are noted with an asterisk (*).

In order to assist the reader to locate programs which are pertinent to his/her interests, IIE has also compiled two indices. The first groups projects by country while the second lists them by field of activity.

Program Survey

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
EAST CENTRAL EUROPE (ECE) INFORMATION EXCHANGE
PROJECT SURVEY

Please complete a separate form for each project. Make extra copies as needed.

1. Organization Name _____

2. Name of Project or Series of Projects _____

3. Type of Organization

- ☐ University/Academic Institution
- ☐ Operating Foundation
- ☐ NGO/non-profit institution
- ☐ Charity
- ☐ Trade Union
- ☐ Academic Institution
- ☐ Professional Association
- ☐ Private Sector Corporation
- ☐ Public Institution
- ☐ Individual

Other _____

4. Primary Field of Activity in ECE

- ☐ Civic education
- ☐ NGO development
- ☐ Human rights/minority issues
- ☐ Devel. of Democratic Gov't (Political Party
- ☐ Development/election issues/etc.)
- ☐ Public Administration (education/training)
- ☐ Judiciary Development/Training of Judges
- ☐ Law/academic training/legal education
- ☐ Constitutional law
- ☐ Legislative drafting

Is your institution affiliated with a larger international organization? _____

If yes, which one? _____

5. Type of Project in which you are Engaged

- ☐ Academic study in ECE — Length of Program _____ — # of Participants per year _____
- ☐ Academic study in US — Length of Program _____ — # of Participants per year _____
- ☐ Professional devel. program in ECE — Length of Program _____ — # of Participants per year _____
- ☐ Professional devel. program in US — Length of Program _____ — # of Participants per year _____
- ☐ Workshop/short-term prog. in ECE (less than 2 weeks) — # of Participants per year _____
- ☐ Workshop/short-term prog. in US (less than 2 weeks) — # of Participants per year _____
- ☐ Conference ..... # of Participants _____
- ☐ Expert Advisors ..... # of Participants per year _____
- ☐ Equipment or other donation
- ☐ Information dissemination
- ☐ Research/Case-studies/Publications on ECE issues
- ☐ Lobbying or Advocacy in ECE

6. Project Beneficiaries/Audience

- ☐ Primary and secondary school students
- ☐ Undergraduate students
- ☐ Graduate students
- ☐ Entrance level professionals
- ☐ Mid-career professionals
- ☐ Political Leaders
- ☐ General

7. Country/Countries in which Activity is Located

- ☐ Albania
- ☐ Bosnia-Hercegovina
- ☐ Bulgaria
- ☐ Croatia
- ☐ Czech Republic
- ☐ Hungary
- ☐ Macedonia
- ☐ Poland
- ☐ Romania
- ☐ Slovakia
- ☐ Slovenia
- ☐ United States
- ☐ Yugoslavia
- ☐ Other

_____ _____

8. What was the Motivating Factor In Developing this Program?

- ☐ Faculty contact
- ☐ Professional ties to the region
- ☐ Previous work in this area which expanded to ECE
- ☐ Request from ECE partner institution
- ☐ Ethnic ties to the region
- ☐ Other

_____

9. Final Aim of Project

- ☐ Create a new institution
- ☐ Assist an existing institution
- ☐ Develop infrastructure in a particular sector
  - ☐ NGO
  - ☐ Academic
  - ☐ Governmental
- ☐ Respond to a crisis or immediate need
- ☐ Professional Development in a particular sector
  - ☐ NGO
  - ☐ Academic
  - ☐ Governmental
  - ☐ Private sector
- ☐ Develop civil society
- ☐ Other

_____

10. When did the Program Begin?

Month/Year: _____
Is this an ongoing activity of your institution?
☐ yes ☐ no
If yes, how many years do you expect that it will continue?_____

11. Status of Program

- ☐ Active
- ☐ Planned (Funding assured)
- ☐ Completed (Activity has ceased)

12. Short Summary of Activity (Purpose, Goals, Present Status)

13. What are your most significant achievements and your greatest obstacles to the future development of the project?

14. Total Funding:_____ USD over _____ years

15. Funding Sources for this Project:

Source	Amount
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

16. Is any part of the program self-funded by the participant?_____
If yes, how much per participant?_____

17. Coordinating/Partner Institutions in ECE/US/Western Europe:

Institution:
Address _____
City _____ Country _____
Primary Contact _____ Telephone _____ Fax _____

Institution:
Address _____
City _____ Country _____
Primary Contact _____ Telephone _____ Fax _____

18. Primary Contact for this Activity:

Name _____
Title _____
Address: _____
_____
Phone Number _____
Fax: _____

19. Form Completed by (if different from #18):

Name _____
Title: _____

20. Please Return to:

Mark Lazar, Regional Director
ECE Information Exchange
Institute of International Education
East Central European Regional Office
Vigyazó F. utca 4, II/2, 1051 Budapest, Hungary
Tel: (36-1) 132-9093, Fax: (36-1) 269-5436
E-Mail: infoex@iie.hu

Programs and Connections

Academy for Educational Development (Warsaw Office)

Aleja Roz 10 m 9
OO-556 Warsaw
Poland
Tel: (48-22) 622-0122
Fax: (48-22) 621-8387
Email: aedwars@ikp.atm.com.pl

Democracy Network

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Expert advisors

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
NGO leaders

Country(ies)
Poland

Summary
The main goals of the Democracy Network are to activate and strengthen Polish nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) seeking to influence the determination and implementation of public policies in the fields of democracy, economic growth, environmental protection and social sector restructuring on the local and national level; to support the creation of an infrastructure and technical resources required to promote public policy activities of Polish NGOs; to ensure opportunities for Polish NGOs to increase their knowledge, skills, ability to organize, and to enhance their self-sufficiency and optimal functioning; and to inform the public about the role and meaning of NGOs as a primary vehicle for involving citizens in civic affairs and in building a democratic society.

Total Funding
5,000,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID - 5,000,000 USD

Contact
Barbara Przybylska, Chief of Party
Pawel Lukasiak, Project Director

Academy for Educational Development (Warsaw Office)

Aleja Roz 10 m 9
OO-556 Warsaw
Poland
Tel: (48-22) 622-0211
Fax: (48-22) 621-8387
Email: aedwars@ikp.atm.com.pl

Decisions

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education

Type of Project
Information dissemination; Research/case-studies/publications on ECE issues

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Primary and secondary school students

Country(ies)
Poland

Summary
The main goal of the Decisions Project is the development and production of both a television series and a set of accompanying in-school instructional materials for Polish youth in support of democracy and market reform in Poland. Additional goals include creating a statistically-based set of measures of the target audience's comprehension and retention of the democratic/economic reform message content, and to teach selected Polish producers and educators state-of-the-art methodology for systematic communication support for the reform process.

Total Funding
1,500,000 USD over 2 years

Funding Source(s)
The Pew Charitable Trusts - 1,500,000 USD

Contact
Klara Kopcinska, Project Coordinator

American Bar Association - Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)

1800 M Street, NW
Suite 2000
Washington, DC 20036
USA
Tel: (202) 331-2292
Fax: (202) 862-8533

Sister Law School/Legal Education

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Law/academic training/legal education

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Expert advisors

Length of Program (if applicable)
1-3 months

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
35-40

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Entrance level professionals, mid-career professionals

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
The CEELI Sister Law School and Legal Education Program provides experts the opportunity to participate in US-based training on legal education and the rule of law.

Total Funding
Not Available

Funding Source(s)
USIA

Contact
Kim Parker, Director SLS Program, CEELI

American Bar Association - Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)

1800 M Street, NW
Suite 2000
Washington, DC 20036
USA
Tel: (202) 331-2609
Fax: (202) 862-8533

Commercial Law Reform Project

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Human rights/minority issues; Judiciary Development/training of judges; Law/academic training/legal education; Constitutional law/drafting; Legislative drafting/constitutional law

Type of Project
Academic study in US; Professional development program in ECE; Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Expert advisors; Equipment or other donation; Information dissemination; Lobbying or advocacy in ECE

Length of Program (if applicable)
4 months, ongoing

Number of Participants per Year (if applicable)
1,815

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Graduate students, entrance level professionals, mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
CEELI is a public service project of the American Bar Association (ABA). It is designed to advance the rule of law by supporting the law reform process underway in Central and Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States.

Total Funding
35,000,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
USIA

Contact
Michael Diedring, Deputy Director, CEELI

American Bar Association - Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)

1800 M Street, NW
Suite 2000
Washington, D.C. 20036
USA
Tel: (202) 331-2202
Fax: (202) 862-8533

Rule of Law Program

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Judiciary development/training of judges; Law/academic training/legal education; Legislative drafting/constitutional law; Constitutional law/drafting

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Expert advisors; Equipment or other donation; Information dissemination; Research/case-studies/publications on ECE issues

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Entrance level professionals, mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
To promote an independent and professional judiciary and bar.

Total Funding
2,870,006 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID

Contact
Valerie P. Calogero, Director, Rule of Law Program, CEELI

Civil Society Development Program

Meszoly u. III/3
Budapest 1117
Hungary
Tel: (361) 166-1843
Fax: (361) 185-1706

Civil Society Development Program

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Information dissemination; Research/case-studies/publications on ECE issues

Length of Program (if applicable)
2 years

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
16 full-time, 100 part-time; 1,000 participants in workshop program

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
General, entrance level professionals, mid-career professionals

Country(ies)
Hungary, Poland

Summary
This program's primary activity is the training of trainers in the NGO sector. The program trains 8 Hungarians and 8 Poles full-time for two years in all aspects of NGOs and their development.

Total Funding
1,500,000 USD over 2 years

Funding Source(s)
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation - 200,000 USD
Rockefeller Brothers Foundation - 200,000 USD
Anonymous - 200,000 USD
PHARE Democracy Program - 180,000 USD
OSI - 150,000 USD
Joyce-Mertz Gilmore Foundation - 100,000 USD
Others - 100,000 USD

Contact
Nilda Bullain, Coordinator

East-West Parliamentary Practice Project (EWPPP)

University of Iowa
Dept. of Political Science
Iowa City, IA 52242
USA
Tel: (319) 335-2361
Fax: (319) 335-3211

East-West Parliamentary Practice Project (EWPPP)

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Development of democratic parliaments (political parties, election issues/etc.)

Type of Project
Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks)

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
150-200

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Members of parliament and parliamentary staffs

Country(ies)
Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Newly Independent States, Albania

Summary
The East-West Parliamentary Practice Project was founded in 1990 and has organized approximately 40 workshops in its six years of existence. Workshops have concentrated on such issues as parliament practice and procedure, the role of parliament in minority rights, the privatization process, the budget process, and the creation of a social safety net.

Total Funding
2,600,000 USD over 4 years

Funding Source(s)
The Pew Charitable Trusts
The Ford Foundation
European Cultural Foundation
Other US and European Foundations

Contact
Professor G. Loewenberg

European Foundation Centre

51 Rue de la Concorde
Brussels B-1050
Belgium
Tel: (322) 512-8938
Fax: (322) 512-3265

ORPHEUS Civil Society Project

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Civic education

Type of Project
Information dissemination; Professional development program in ECE

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
General

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
The ORPHEUS Civil Society Project aims to support the development of resource centers serving foundations and associations in East Central Europe.

Total Funding
Not Available

Funding Source(s)
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
Fondation de France
Charities Aid Foundation
Charity Know How

Contact
Eric Kemp, ORPHEUS Civil Society Project Coordinator

Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI)

1528 Walnut Street
Suite 610
Philadelphia, PA 19102
Tel: (215) 732-3774
Fax: (215) 732-4401

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Public Administration (education/training); Civic education; Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.)

Type of Project
Academic study in ECE; Academic study in US

Length of Program (if applicable)
3 years

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
8

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Czech Republic

Total Funding
450,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
The Pew Charitable Trusts - 450,000 USD

Contact
Alan Luxenberg, Vice President

Forum for Intercultural Communication; Foundation in Support of Local Democracy (Poland)

2440 Virginia Avenue, NW
Suite C-102
Washington, DC 20037
USA
Tel: (202) 775-7234
Fax: (202) 223-1669

DIALOGUE: SELF-HELP IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Workshop/short-term program in US (less than 2 weeks); Equipment or other donation; Information dissemination

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
General

Country(ies)
Poland

Summary
The goals of this program are to establish government-citizen participation programs, to train trainers in citizen participation programs, and to develop training of trainers programs. Currently continuing work through Foundation in Support of Local Democracy (FSLD).

Total Funding
Not Available

Funding Source(s)
The German Marshall Fund
US Peace Corps
PHARE Program
Local sources

Contact
Dr. Gerald Hursh-Cesar, Board of Advisors

Foundation for a Civil Society

1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 609
New York, NY 10020
USA
Tel: (212)332-2890
Fax: (212)332-2898

PROJECT ON JUSTICE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Public administration (education/training)

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Political leaders

Country(ies)
Worldwide

Summary
The purpose of this program is to assist the developing democracies of the world as they face the various complex problems—political, social, legal, and economic—associated with the transition from communism, authoritarianism, and/or civil conflict to peace and civil society.

Total Funding
400,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
The German Marshall Fund
Winston Foundation
Joyce-Mertz Gilmore Foundation

Contact
Eric S. Nonacs, Project Director

Foundation for a Civil Society

1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 609
New York, NY 10020
USA
Tel: (212) 332-2890
Fax: (212) 332-2898

Expert Advisors Program

Type of Organization
Operating Foundation

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/training); Constitutional law/drafting

Type of Project
Expert advisors

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
12-14

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Czech Republic, Slovakia

Summary
This program places long-term technical advisors in governmental (national and local) institutions in the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Total Funding
1,700,000 USD over 4 years

Funding Source(s)
The Pew Charitable Trusts - 850,000 USD
The Ford Foundation - 850,000 USD

Contact
Hannah Evans, Senior Program Officer

Foundation for a Civil Society

1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 609
New York, NY 10020
USA
Tel: (212) 332 2890
Fax: (212) 332-2898

Democracy Network Program -Czech Republic

Type of Organization
Operating Foundation

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.)

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Expert advisors; Equipment or other donation; Lobbying or advocacy in ECE

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
General

Country(ies)
Czech Republic

Summary
The Democracy Network Program is a USAID initiative designed to strengthen and support the NGO sector in Central and Eastern Europe. It is administered by US NGOs who will provide technical assistance and a small grants program with the aim of creating a sustainable NGO sector. Our foundation has been selected to administer the Czech and Slovak portions of the program.

Total Funding
1,500,000 USD over 2 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID - 1,500,000 USD

Contact
Lauren Stone, Associate Director/Project Director

Foundation for a Civil Society

1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 609
New York, NY 10020
USA
Tel: (212) 332-2890
Fax: (212) 332-2898

Democracy Network Program - Slovakia

Type of Organization
Operating Foundation

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.)

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Expert advisors; Equipment or other donation; Lobbying or advocacy in ECE

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
General

Country(ies)
Slovakia

Summary
The Democracy Network Program is a USAID initiative designed to strengthen and support the NGO sector in Central and Eastern Europe. It is administered by US NGOs who will provide technical assistance and a small grants program with the aim of creating a sustainable NGO sector. Our foundation has been selected to administer the Czech and Slovak portions of the program.

Total Funding
3,000,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID - 3,000,000 USD

Contact
Lauren Stone, Associate Director/ Project Director

Foundation for a Civil Society

1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 609
New York, NY 10020
USA
Tel: (212) 332-2890
Fax: (212) 332-2898

Travel Grant Program

Type of Organization
Operating Foundation

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/training); Constitutional law/drafting

Type of Project
Professional development program in US

Length of Program (if applicable)
flexible

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
flexible

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Political leaders, general

Country(ies)
Czech Republic, Slovakia

Summary
This program supports short-term travel to the United States for practical study, internships, and study tours linked to relevant conferences. The program is aimed at journalists, NGO leaders, political activists, and politicians involved in the democratic, economic, and environmental development of the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Total Funding
48,000+ USD over 5 years

Funding Source(s)
The German Marshall Fund - 48,000 USD
Alfred and Isabel Bader Foundation
International Theatre Institute

Contact
Hannah Evans, Senior Program Officer

German Marshall Fund

11 Dupont Circle, NW
Washington, DC 20036
USA
Tel: (202) 745-3950
Fax: (202) 265-1662
Email: Lfeldbaum@gmfus.org

Marshall Memorial Fellowship Program

Type of Organization
Operating Foundation

Primary Field of Activity
Development of political and media networks in Europe that are informed about US institutions and society.

Type of Project
Professional development program in US

Length of Program (if applicable)
6 weeks

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
45

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Political leaders, media leaders

Country(ies)
Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia

Summary
This program exposes young politicians and journalists to political, social, and economic issues in the United States.

Total Funding
1,542,867 USD over 6 years

Funding Source(s)
The German Marshall Fund - 1,542,867 USD

Contact
Laura Feldbaum, Director, Marshall Memorial Fellowship Program

German Marshall Fund

11 Dupont Circle, NW
Washington, DC 20036
USA
Tel: (202) 745-3950
Fax: (202) 265-1662
Email: Pweitz@gmfus.org

Political Development in ECE

Type of Organization
Operating Foundation

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Human rights/minority issues, media

Type of Project
Advocacy in ECE

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
General

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
We give grants principally to local institutions in ECE countries which support NGO advocacy, citizen-government interactive processes, and news and political reporting of the press.

Total Funding
7,097,385 USD over 6 years

Funding Source(s)
The German Marshall Fund - 5,415,000 USD
USAID - 1,682,385 USD

Contact
Peter R. Weitz, Director of Programs

Hegeler Institute

Box 18
LaSalle, IL 61301
USA
Tel: (815) 223-1500
Fax: (815) 223-4486

Conference: "Philosophy and Political Change in Eastern Europe"

Type of Organization
Operating Foundation

Primary Field of Activity
Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.)

Type of Project
Conference

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid-career professionals

Country(ies)
Hungary

Summary
This is a conference on philosophy and political change in Eastern Europe.

Total Funding
20,000 USD over 1 year

Funding Source(s)
Hegeler Institute

Contact
Todd Volker, Project Director

Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)

17 Akademias str.
106 71 Athens
Greece
Tel: (30-1) 363-7627
Fax: (30-1) 364-2139

Halki International Seminars: "Cooperation and Security in Europe, the Mediterranean and the Balkans"

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Human rights/minority issues; Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Conference

Length of Program (if applicable)
2 weeks

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
180

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Graduate students; Entrance level professionals, mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Regional, and several Middle-Eastern countries

Summary
The ongoing seminars have created a wide network of political, academic, and media leaders that cooperate and exchange information. They have also assisted in the promotion of democracy in the former communist bloc.

Total Funding
Not Available

Funding Source(s)
Rockefeller Foundation
NATO
Council of Europe
USIP
General Secretariat of Youth

Contact
Elissavet Phocas, Halki International Seminars Coordinator

Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance (Autonomia Alapitvany)

Folyoka u.20
Budapest 1037
Hungary
Tel: (361) 180-4774

Roma Enterprise Development Project

Type of Organization
Operating Foundation

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Human rights/minority issues

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Equipment or other donation

Length of Program (if applicable)
1 year

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
200

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Entrance level professionals

Country(ies)
Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia

Summary
This program supports project management training for Roma leaders and entrepreneurs and also engages in the training of trainers.

Total Funding
1,600,000 USD over 1 year

Funding Source(s)
EC PHARE
Andrew W. Mellon Foundation

Contact
Andras Biro, Executive Director

Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)

2000 P Street, NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036
USA
Tel: (202) 466-7105
Fax: (202) 466-7140

Centers for Pluralism Project

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development

Type of Project
Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Expert advisors; Information dissemination; Research/case-studies/publications on ECE issues

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
130

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Political leaders, general

Country(ies)
Regional, Newly Independent States

Summary
The Centers for Pluralism Program was founded by IDEE in 1992 with the purpose of developing a regional network of non-governmental organizations in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that share the common goals of promoting democracy, pluralism, human rights, and civil society. IDEE has so far established 13 Centers for Pluralism in 12 countries. One of these Centers, the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe-Warsaw, acts as the regional coordinator for the program and publishes the *Centers for Pluralism Newsletter*, a quarterly information bulletin about NGO activity in the region. IDEE is currently looking to expand the program eastward to include more NGOs in the former Soviet Republics.

Total Funding
700,000 USD over 3.5 years

Funding Source(s)
NED - 700,000 USD

Contact
Ms. Irena Lasota, President and Director of Programs

Institute for East West Studies (IEWS)

European Studies Center
Prague
Czech Republic
Tel: (42-2) 296-759
Fax: (42-2) 294-380

Managing Ethnic Conflict: Emerging Domestic and Bilateral Approaches

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Human rights/minority issues

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
General, entrance level professionals, mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
The main objectives of this program are to promote useful policy alternatives for governments and intergovernmental institutions in improving political cooperation between majorities and minorities with home states; to promote dialogue between kin-state and home-state policy-makers toward developing "codes of conduct" for constructive, non-threatening kin-state involvement in the affairs of its ethnic kin abroad; and to improve the policy community's conceptual understanding of the dynamics of ethnic politics.

Total Funding
Not Available

Funding Source(s)
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation

Contact
Robert W. Mickey, Project Manager

International Center for Not-for-Profit Law

1511 K Street, NW
Suite 723
Washington, DC 20005
USA
Tel: (202) 624-0766
Fax: (202) 624-0767
Email: dcincl@aol.com

CEE Democracy Network Program: Legal Framework

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Conference; Expert advisors; Information dissemination

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Entrance level professionals; mid-career professionals; political leaders

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
This program provides technical assistance and education to create a better legal and fiscal environment for the NGO sector in ECE.

Total Funding
1,875,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID - 1,500,000 USD
Matching Funds (various sources) - 375,000 USD

Contact
Karla W. Simon, Executive Director

International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)

1616 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006
USA
Tel: (202) 628-8188
Fax: (202) 628-8189

Central and East European Graduate Fellowships Program

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Human rights/minority issues; Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Academic study in US

Length of Program (if applicable)
1 or 2 years

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
55

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Graduate students, entrance level professionals

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
This program offers university graduates and young professionals from 10 CEE countries the opportunity to participate in quality graduate study programs in business administration, economics, law, public policy, public administration, educational administration, and journalism.

Total Funding
3,803,082 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
USIA - 2,750,000 USD
IREX - 1,053,083 USD

Contact
Vera Lichtenberg, Program Officer, Central and East European Programs

International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)

1616 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006
USA
Tel: (202) 628-8188
Fax: (202) 628-8189

CSCE/NGO Study Tour

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Human rights/minority issues; Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Workshop/short-term program in US (less than 2 weeks)

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
16

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid-career professionals

Country(ies)
Albania, Macedonia, Slovakia, Central Asian countries

Summary
This program brought 16 representatives of NGOs (including 2 from Slovakia, 2 from Macedonia and 3 from Albania) to Budapest to attend the CSCE conference, followed by a 2-week US study tour. The goal of the program was to familiarize participants with the CSCE process, enhance understanding of the role and function of nonprofit organizations in the United States, and provide an opportunity to network amongst each other and with US counterparts.

Total Funding
138,000 USD

Funding Source(s)
USIA - 138,000 USD

Contact
Bernadine Joselyn, Specialist

International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)

1616 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006
USA
Tel: (202) 628-8188
Fax: (202) 628-8189

Public Policy Fellowships Program

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Academic study in US; Equipment or other donation

Length of Program (if applicable)
1 year

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
3

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, United States

Summary
This program brought one outstanding professional per year from Hungary, Poland and the Czech and Slovak Republics for an academic year of study at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. Following a US stay, fellows returned to their home countries, where they designed and conducted a series of follow-up seminars and meetings. The program aimed to foster a small cadre of well-trained public policy-makers and analysts in these countries.

Total Funding
415,000 USD over 4 years

Funding Source(s)
The Pew Charitable Trusts - 345,000 USD
Princeton University - 60,000 USD
MacArthur Foundation - 10,000 USD

Contact
Beate Dafeldecker, Senior Program Officer

Johns Hopkins University

Institute for Policy Studies
Wyman Park Building
3400 N. Charles Street
Baltimore, MD 21218-2696
USA
Tel: (410) 516-7174
Fax: (410) 516-8233
Email: dugan@jhunix.hcf.jhu.edu

Third Sector Project

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
International Nonprofit Management Training

Type of Project
Nonprofit management workshops; Training of trainers program; Individual consultations; Internships (6 weeks)

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Graduate students, staff/volunteers of nonprofit organizations

Country(ies)
Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, United States, Russia

Summary
The Third Sector Project seeks to equip a cadre of personnel in ECE with the skills they need to organize and manage nonprofit organizations, and to understand the role these organizations can play in local and national life. To carry out this objective, the TSP involves three principal activities: 1) In-country training workshops on practical aspects of nonprofit management and operation; 2) Short-term internships with nonprofit organizations in the United States; 3) A Training of Trainers Program to prepare a cadre of indigenous trainers and technical assistance providers for nonprofit managers in East Central Europe.

Total Funding
900,000 USD over 1 year

Funding Source(s)
The Ford Foundation
Foundation for a Civil Society
Kellogg Foundation
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
Open Society Institute
The Pew Charitable Trusts
Rockefeller Brothers
USAID

Contact
Carol Dugan
Tel: (410) 516-5389

League of Women Voters Education Fund

1730 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
USA
Tel: (202) 429-1965
Fax: (202) 429-0854

Emerging Democracies Program

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Women's rights; Rule of law

Type of Project
Grassroots political program in US

Length of Program (if applicable)
5 weeks - Grassroots internship program; 4 days - Grassroots initiative conference; 1-2 years - Grass-roots assistance grants

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
20

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Political leaders, civic leaders

Country(ies)
Hungary, Poland

Summary
This program provides opportunities for emerging citizen leaders in Hungary and Poland to build sustainable grassroots institutions in communities throughout their countries.

Total Funding
600,000 USD over 4 years

Funding Source(s)
The Pew Charitable Trusts
USIA
Soros Foundation
Levi Strauss Foundation
NED
US Institute of Peace

Contact
Orna Tamches, Program Manager, International Relations/ Emerging Democracies

National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA)

1120 G Street, NW
Suite 850
Washington, DC 20005
USA
Tel: (202) 347-3190
Fax: (202) 393-0993

Strengthening Local Governance and Public Administration in the Czech Republic

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Expert Advisors

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
variable

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Political leaders

Country(ies)
Czech Republic

Summary
The goal of this project is to develop, test and disseminate mechanisms to revive democracy at the local level, in the sense of a partnership between the governed and the authorities. A variety of mechanisms will be developed and implemented in five municipalities. Based on the lessons learned in these projects, educational materials and approaches will be developed and used in a series of one-day workshops. Self-study materials will then be produced for broad distribution throughout the Czech Republic. The establishment of networking will facilitate follow-up and reinforcement.

Total Funding
700,000 USD over 2 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID - 700,000 USD

Contact
Dr. Carole Neves, Project Director

National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA)

1120 G Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
USA
Tel: (202) 628-8965
Fax: (202) 626-4978

Budapest University of Economics: Center for Public Affairs

Type of Organization
Professional Association

Primary Field of Activity
Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Academic study in US; Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Expert advisors; Equipment or other donation; Research/case-studies/publications on ECE issues

Length of Program (if applicable)
2 years

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
23

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Graduate students

Country(ies)
Hungary

Summary
This program provides technical assistance and funds to establish a Center for Public Studies, including the development of a master's level program in public management, development of curricula and teaching materials, and applied public policy.

Total Funding
405,000 USD over 4 years

Funding Source(s)
The Pew Charitable Trusts - 360,000 USD
The Ford Foundation - 45000 USD

Contact
Alfred Zuck, Executive Director

National Forum Foundation

Menesi ut 18
1118 Budapest
Hungary
Tel: (36-1) 185-3108
Fax: (36-1) 185-3108
Email: cornell@nff.hu

Democracy Network Project

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Professional development program in US; Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Small-grants program for cross-border projects in ECE; Information dissemination

Length of Program (if applicable)
3 months - 1 year (ECE); 6 weeks (US); 2-6 weeks (workshop in ECE)

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
40-60 (ECE); 10-20 (US)

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid- to high-level professionals from public-policy oriented NGOs in the fields of democratization, environmental protection, economic development, and social safety nets.

Country(ies)
Regional, Newly Independent States

Summary
This 3-year, $3 million project was launched to strengthen public policy nongovernmental organizations in East Central Europe. The primary objective of the Democracy Network Project is to facilitate cross-border cooperation and collaboration among the region's indigenous NGOs active in public policy development in the areas of democratization, economic development, environment, and social safety nets. The major components of the NFF project include US-based fellowships for senior NGO managers; regional and in-country exchanges and internships; the development of a NGO communications and information network; a regional NGO newsletter; a small grants program for cross-border collaborative projects; sponsorship of US volunteers for on-site training; and a series of regional workshops. The project is coordinated by the NFF's office in Budapest.

Total Funding
3,000,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID - 3,000,000 USD

Contact
Katharine Cornell, Regional Director

National Forum Foundation

511 C Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
USA
Tel: (202) 543-3515
Fax: (202) 547-4101
Email: nff@nff.org

Central and East European Internship Program

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; NGO development; Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Professional development program in the US

Length of Program (if applicable)
6 weeks to 3 months

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
60-80

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid- to high-level professionals from the fields of governance/public administration, journalism/media management, economic development, and nonprofit management

Country(ies)
Regional, Newly Independent States

Summary
Since 1989, this program has sponsored professional training in the United States for nearly 400 leaders from the former East Bloc. This internship program was the first of its kind; it is now the largest, and is widely considered the most successful. The program format, which was pioneered by the NFF, typically includes a two-week orientation followed by one or two five-week internships with an American counterpart organization. Participants have held internships in nearly 100 print and broadcast outlets; the offices of 140 Members of Congress; 100 governors, state legislators, mayors and city governments; 40 political campaigns; 40 banks, stocks and commodities exchanges; as well as numerous law firms, government lending and regulatory agencies, trade, and business associations. The alumni of this program include a foreign minister, four vice-ministers, the press spokespersons for five heads of state, 15 Members of Parliament, two dozen city council members, a remarkable number of the region's most prominent editors, reporters, and broadcasters, as well as leaders in banking, investment, and securities.

Total Funding
3,000,000 USD over 5 years

Funding Source(s)
Office of Citizen Exchanges, USIA - 100,000+ USD
The Pew Charitable Trusts - 100,000+ USD
Several other foundations

Contact
Catherine Messina, Executive Director (Washington)

National Forum Foundation

511 C Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
USA
Tel: (202) 543-3515
Fax: (202) 547-4101
Email: nff@nff.org

American Volunteers for International Development (AVID)

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Professional development program in FCE

Length of Program (if applicable)
3 months to 1 year

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
25-50

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid- to high-level professionals from the fields of governance/public administration, journalism/media management, economic development, and nonprofit management

Country(ies)
Regional, Newly Independent States

Summary
The AVID program is a demand-driven and highly cost-effective "democracy corps" initiative which deploys American professionals to host institutions in the former East Bloc who request support through the AVID application process. The AVID program transfers information and managerial skills to the region's new leaders through practical, long-term, on-site assistance. These American experts serve in a voluntary capacity (with minimal financial support) for 3-12 months. During the past three years, AVID volunteers have been assigned to over 100 organizations, providing over 10,000 days of on-site services. The volunteers are drawn from the NFF's Talent Bank, which has about 400 registered applicants. Volunteer candidates are solicited through an on-going promotional campaign,

administered by the NFF, with advertisements appearing in *The New Republic*, *The Washington Post's National Weekly Edition*, as well as various targeted trade and professional magazines. President Vaclav Havel is the chairman of the AVID program.

Total Funding
Not Available

Contact
Catherine Messina, Executive Director (Washington)

National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL)

711 G Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003
USA
Tel: (202) 546-6644
Fax: (202) 546-6649

Public Legal Education

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education; Human rights/minority issues

Type of Project
Professional development program in US; Conference; Expert advisors; Information dissemination

Length of Program (if applicable)
30 days

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Primary and secondary school students, undergraduate students, graduate students, mid-career professionals

Country(ies)
Hungary

Summary
NICEL is currently working with the Institute for Legal Assistance and Education in the Law (ILAEL), affiliated with the Eotvos Lorand University, to bring civil and legal education to the people of Hungary. The purpose of this work is to strengthen democracy and human rights in Hungary through citizen awareness and empowerment. The program has been successful in many ways. First, *Mindennapok Joga* ("Everyday Law"), the first text in Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union to summarize a country's new laws, constitution, democratic processes, and human rights, was published. Second, law students were trained to teach practical legal education in high schools. The program continues to spread throughout Hungary.

Total Funding
100,000 USD over 2 years

Funding Source(s)
National Endowment for Democracy - 100,000 USD

Contact
Edward L. O'Brien, Co-Director

Northeastern University School of Law

400 Huntington Avenue
Boston, MA 02115
USA
Tel: (617) 373-3290
Fax: (617) 373-9056

A US - Poland Conference: Rights Legality and Democratization

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
Law/academic training/legal education; Human rights/minority issues; Constitutional law/drafting; Legislative drafting

Type of Project
Conference

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid-career professionals

Country(ies)
Poland

Summary
This was a conference between academic lawyers and legal sociologists on the role of law and rule of law in post-communist, transitioning societies.

Total Funding
14,370 USD

Funding Source(s)
Northeastern University - 5,150 USD
MacArthur Foundation - $5,220 USD
John Merck Fund - $4,000 USD

Contact
Prof. Karl Klare, Professor of Law

Ohio State University - Mershon Center

1501 Neil Ave
Columbus, OH 43201
USA
Tel: (614) 292-1681
Fax: (614) 292-2407

Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Primary and secondary school students, undergraduate students

Country(ies)
Poland

Summary
This project consists of several programs designed to assist Polish educators in developing a curricula for civic education for primary school, secondary school, and university students. Through its activities, the Project aims to institutionalize civic education in Poland for the next decade, contribute to a national dialogue among Polish educators on the meaning of democratic citizenship and civil education, and build strong linkages between American and Polish civic educators.

Total Funding
540,703 USD over 5 years

Funding Source(s)
National Endowment for Democracy - 292,890 USD
USIA - 147,505 USD
The Pew Charitable Trusts - 100,308 USD

Contact
Dr. Richard C. Remy, Associate Director

Palacky University - School of Law

tr. 17 Listopadu 8
771 00 Olomouc
Czech Republic
Tel: (42-68) 522-4241
Fax: (42-68) 522-3537

The Association of the Bar of the City of New York

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
Law/academic training/legal education

Type of Project
Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks)

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
50

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Undergraduate students, mid-career professionals

Country(ies)
Czech Republic

Summary
Colloquium on topics including the role of private lawyers in American society, ethical obligations, preservation of the independence of the judiciary, and the creation of law firms and the development of client relationships.

Total Funding
3,000 USD

Funding Source(s)
New York City Bar Association - 2,000 USD
PU Law School - 1,000 USD

Contact
JuDr. Leos Vyhnanek, Vice Dean for Foreign Affairs

Palacky University - School of Law

tr. 17 Listopadu 8
771 00 Olomouc
Czech Republic
Tel: (42-68) 522-4241
Fax: (42-68) 522-3537

Citizen and Law

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
Law/academic training/legal education

Type of Project
Academic study in ECE

Length of Program (if applicable)
1 semester

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
500

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
General

Country(ies)
Czech Republic

Summary
This is a four month series of lectures for the non-professional, non-legal public aiming to raise awareness.

Total Funding
20,000 USD over 2 years

Funding Source(s)
NED - 10,000 USD
Vontobel Bank - 10,000 USD

Contact
Petr Vystrcil, Administrator

Princeton University

Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, NJ 08540
USA
Tel: (609) 739-8200
Fax: (609) 683-7605

East European Development Program

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
Law/academic training/legal education

Type of Project
Academic study in ECE

Length of Program (if applicable)
3 years

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
2

Country(ies)
Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania

Summary
This program aims to assist in the development of East European research institutions at a consortium of six Western institutes, and to establish a program of funded prizes, two each year, to Eastern European scholars based at institutes or universities in Central and Eastern Europe. The objectives of the program are to encourage the building of strong and independent academic research institutions in the former Soviet Bloc states, and to develop networks of researchers who will have on-going ties with their counterparts in the West.

Total Funding
360,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
The MacArthur Foundation - 180,000 USD
Thyssen Foundation - 180,000 USD

Contact
Phillip A. Griffith, Director

Project on Ethnic Relations

1 Palmer Square
Suite 435
Princeton, Nj 08542
USA
Tel: (609) 683-5666
Fax: (609) 683-5888
Email: ethnic@pucc.Princeton.edu
Compuserve: 75716,3537

Project on Ethnic Relations

Type of Organization
NGO/nonprofit institution

Primary Field of Activity
Interethnic relations

Type of Project
Conference, Expert advisors, Information dissemination

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
250

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Political leaders

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
The projects activities include, Roma Activities, Hungarian - Romanian Mediation, Eastern European-Russian Meetings on Ethno-nationalism, media conferences on reporting about ethnic minorities, mediation with Hungarian minorities outside of Hungary, minorities in Serbia and Bulgaria.

Total Funding
Not Available

Funding Source(s)
Carnegie Corporation
The Pew Charitable Trusts
Starr Foundation
Phillip Reed Foundation

Contact
Aleksey N. Grigor'ev, Program Associate
Allen Kassof, President
Livia B. Plaks, Executive Director

Stanford University

Hoover Institution
Stanford, CA 94305-6010
USA
Tel: (415) 723-1501
Fax: (415) 725-3569

The Diplomat Training Program

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
Civic education

Type of Project
Academic study in US

Length of Program (if applicable)
3 months

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
28

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Entrance level professionals

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
The goal of this program is to equip young diplomats for the future by exposing them to the academic and intellectual resources of the West, specifically those of the Hoover Institution and Stanford University, and by introducing them to the American way of life. Program objectives include: providing an understanding of basic private enterprise and international economic institutions; offering western perspectives on international relations, diplomacy, statecraft, international security, and arms control; interacting with Hoover scholars and discussing their thoughts about public policy; and supplementing Hoover's programs by enrolling in Stanford University courses.

Total Funding
2,500,000 USD over 5 years

Contact
Richard Sousa, Associate Director

Syracuse University - Maxwell School

New York, NY 13244-3712
USA
Tel: (315) 443-3712
Fax: (315) 443-5451

Building Local Government Capacity in Hungary: Programs for Vulnerable Populations

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
NGO development; Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Research/case-studies/publications on ECE issues

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
100

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Hungary

Summary
Developing "best practices" cases concerning the administration of programs for the vulnerable at the local level in Hungary; workshops; social administration handbook.

Total Funding
127,000 USD over 1.5 years

Funding Source(s)
Institute for Local Government and Public Service - 77,000 USD
The Pew Charitable Trusts- 50,000 USD

Contact
Jeffrey D. Straussman, Professor of Public Administration

University of Pittsburgh- International Management Development Institute at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs

3J03 Forbes Quadrangle
Pittsburgh, PA 15260-0001
USA
Tel: (412) 648-7435
Fax: (412) 648-2222
Email: wolfgang@vms.cis.pitt.edu

International Affairs Network

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
Public Administration (education/training); Development of democratic government (political parties, election issues/etc.)

Type of Project
Professional development program in US; Workshop/short-term program in ECE (less than 2 weeks); Workshop/short-term program in US (less than 2 weeks); Equipment or other donation

Length of Program (if applicable)
6 months

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
114

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Graduate students

Country(ies)
Regional

Summary
The International Affairs Network (IAN) is a project designed to enhance the institutional capacity of schools of International Affairs in Eastern and Central Europe and indigenous capacity for international affairs education, training, and policy research in key institutions.

Total Funding
1,500,000 USD over 3 years

Funding Source(s)
The Pew Charitable Trusts - 1,500,000 USD

Contact
Dr. Wolfgang F. Schloer, US Director, International Affairs Network

University of South Carolina - Institute of Public Affairs

Carolina Plaza
Columbia, SC 29208
USA
Tel: (803) 777-8157
Fax: (803) 777-4575

Democratic Governance and Public Administration: Local Government Training in Bulgaria

Type of Organization
University/Academic Institution

Primary Field of Activity
Public administration (education/training)

Type of Project
Professional development program in ECE; Professional development program in US; Expert advisors; Information dissemination

Number of Participants per year (if applicable)
varies

Project Beneficiaries/Audience
Mid-career professionals, political leaders

Country(ies)
Bulgaria

Summary
To provide assistance to local governments in selected cities in Bulgaria.

Total Funding
925,000 USD over 3.75 years

Funding Source(s)
USAID - 800,000 USD
USIA - 125,000 USD

Contact
Glenda Bunce, Director, Office of International Programs

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Academy for Educational Development (Warsaw Office)*	Democracy Network	Aleja Roz 10 m 9 OO-556 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 622-0122 (48-22) 621-8387	NGO development	Poland
Academy for Educational Development (Warsaw Office)*	Decisions	Aleja Roz 10 m 9 OO-556 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 622-0211 (48-22) 621-8387	Civic education	Poland
AFL-CIO	Assistance to Unions in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Romania	815 16th Street, NW Room 402 Washington, DC 20006	(202) 637-5000 (202) 637-5058	NGO development	Regional
"Agora," Romanian Language Cultural Quaterly; Group for Social Dialogue	The Establishment of a Center for Democratic Studies in Romania	Calea Victorei No. 120 Sector 1 Bucharest, Romania	(40-1) 614-1471 (40-1) 614-1471	Civic education	Romania
Albanian Human Rights Center	Defence of Human Rights in Albania	Qendra Nederkombetare E Kultures Bulvardi Deshmoret E Kombit Ehoma 35 Tirana, Albania	(355-42) 33-671 (355-42) 33-671	Human rights/minority issues	Albania
American Bar Association - Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)*	Sister Law School Program, Warsaw (Poland), Belgrade (former Yugoslavia), April 15-19, 1991	1800 M Street, NW Suite 2000 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 331-2292 (202) 862-8533	Law/academic training/legal education	Regional
American Bar Association - Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)*	Commercial Law Reform Project	1800 M Street, NW Suite 2000 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 331-2609 (202) 862-8533	NGO development; Human rights/minority issues; Judiciary Development/training of judges; Law/academic training/ legal education; Constitutional law drafting; Legislative drafting/constitutional law	Regional
American Bar Association - Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)*	Rule of Law Program	1800 M Street, NW, Suite 2000 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 331-2202 (202) 862-8533	NGO development; Judiciary Development/training of judges; Law/academic training/ legal education; Legislative drafting/constitutional law; Constitutional law/drafting	Regional

* For more information see listing in *Programs and Connections*

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
American Committee for Aid to Poland	Program Encouraging the Development of Independent Civil Society, Local Community Participation and Civic Responsibility	P.O. Box 6275 McLean, VA 22106-6275	(703) 506-1088 (703) 790-1403	Civic education	Poland
American Committee for Aid to Poland	The Democratic Transition in Poland	P.O. Box 6275 McLean, VA 22106-6275	(703) 506-1088 (703) 790-1403	Civic education	Poland
American Committee for Aid to Poland	Participatory Political Systems: "Program to Create and Maintain a Viable PVO Network in Poland"	P.O. Box 6275 McLean, VA 22106-6275	(703) 506-1088 (703) 790-1403	NGO development	Poland
American Council of Learned Societies	Teacher Training in Constitutionalism in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary	228 East 45th Street 16th Floor New York, NY 10017-3398	(212) 697-1505 (212) 949-8058	Civic education	Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia
American Federation of Teachers	The Development of Independent Teacher Organizations in Central and Eastern Europe	555 New Jersey Ave. NW Washington, DC 20001-2079	(202) 393-7484 (202) 879-4502	Civic education	Regional
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee	Civic Institutions: "Support for the PVO Humanitarian/ Development Initiative Project in Eastern Europe"	711 Third Avenue New York, NY 10017	(212) 687-6200 (212) 370-5467	NGO development	Regional
American University	Training Local Government Leaders	4400 Massachusetts Ave. NW Washington, DC 20016-8002	(202) 885-2940 (202) 885-2353	Public Administration (education/training)	Regional
APADOR - Romanian Helsinki Committee	The Relationship Between the Police and Individuals/The Situation in Penitentiaries	Calea Victoriei 120 70179 Bucharest, Romania	(40-1) 312-4528 (40-1) 312-4443	Human rights/minority issues; Law/academic training/legal education	Romania
APADOR - Romanian Helsinki Committee	Promotion of Human Rights Through Legislation	Calea Victoriei 120 70179 Bucharest, Romania	(40-1) 312-4528 (40-1) 312-4443	Law/academic training/legal education; Human rights/ minority issues	Romania

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
APADOR - Romanian Helsinki Committee	Minorities in Romania	Calea Victoriei 120 70179 Bucharest, Romania	(40-1) 312-4258 (40-1) 312-4443	Human rights/minority issues; Law/academic training/legal education	Romania
APADOR - Romanian Helsinki Committee	Refugees in Romania	Calea Victoriei 120 70170 Bucharest, Romania	(40-1) 312-4258 (40-1) 312-4443	Human rights/minority issues; Law/academic training/legal education	Romania
APADOR - Romanian Helsinki Committee	Centre for Human Rights	Calea Victoriei 120 70179 Bucharest, Romania	(40-1) 312-4258 (40-1) 312-4443	Human rights/minority issues; Law/academic training/legal education	Romania
Aspen Institute	Justice and Society Program	787 Seventh Avenue 36th Floor New York, NY 10019	(212) 554-1311 (212) 554-3745	Human rights/minority issues	Regional
Aspen Institute	"US-Soviet and East European Relations Project"	1333 New Hampshire Ave, NW Suite 1070 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 736-5819 (202) 467-0790	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
Association of Professional Psychologists in Education	Children at Risk Project			Human rights/minority issues	Bulgaria
Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA)	International Affairs Education and Training Programs	Washington, DC	(202) 869-7989	Public administration (education/training)	Regional
Association of Slovak Entrepreneurs	Development of Legislative Advocacy Programs				
Batory Foundation	Conference: "Decommunization and Democracy in Eastern Europe"	ul Flory 9 (IV Floor) 00586 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 488-055 (48-22) 493-561	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
BORIS (Support Office for the Movement of Self-Help Initiatives)	NGO Development	Nowolipie 25 B01-011 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 38-39-82 (48-22) 38-26-72	NGO development	Poland

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Brother's Brother Foundation	Civic Institutions: "The Support for the PVO Humanitarian/Development Initiative Project in Hungary"	1501 Reedsdale St. Pittsburgh, PA 15233	(412) 321-3160 (412) 321-3325	NGO development	Hungary
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights	Civic Centers	National Palace of Culture 1414 Sofia, Bulgaria	(359-2) 657-106 (359-2) 801-038	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.) Civic education	Bulgaria
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights	Training Workshops on Electoral and Party-Building Issues	National Palace of Culture 1414 Sofia, Bulgaria	(359-2) 657-106 (359-2) 801-038	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Bulgaria
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections; National Democratic Institute for International Affairs	Civic Education and Election Monitoring Programs for the National Elections in Bulgaria	National Palace of Culture 1414 Sofia, Bulgaria	(359-2) 657-106 (359-2) 801-038	Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Bulgaria
Bulgarian Helsinki Committee	Monitoring Human Rights in Bulgaria	Sofia, Bulgaria		Human rights/minority issues	Bulgaria
Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights	Program to Support Bulgarian Human Rights NGOs	Sofia, Bulgaria		NGO development; Human rights/minority issues	Bulgaria
Center for Anti-War Action-Belgrade; Institute for Federalism	Conference on Establishing a War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia	Kralja Petra 4611000 Belgrade	(381-11) 635-813 (381-11) 635-813	Human rights/minority issues	Yugoslavia
Center for Civic Education	Model Standards for Education in Civics and Government			Civic education	Regional
Center for Strategic and International Studies	CEE Workshops on Democratization in Eastern Europe	1800 K Street, NW Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006-0000	(202) 887-0200 (202) 775-3199	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
Center for the Defense of Human Rights - Martin Luther King Project (MEJOK)	Human Rights Non-Profit NGO			Human rights/minority issues	Hungary

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Center for the Study of Democracy	Non-Profit Research and Advocacy Project	1 Lazar Stanev Street Sofia 1113, Bulgaria	(359) 270-6164	Legislative drafting/constitutional law; NGO development	Bulgaria
Central Connecticut State University	A Training Workshop on "Sustaining Democratic Change: Transforming the Bureaucracy" in Wroclaw, Poland	1615 Stanley Street, New Britain, CT 06050-4010	(203) 832-3010 (203) 832-3019	Public Administration (education/training)	Poland
Chamber of Non-profit Human Services	Legislation and Lobbying Project for New NGO Laws	Karoly Krt. 21052 Budapest, Hungary	(36-1) 266-9035 (36-1) 266-9035	Legislative drafting/constitutional law	Hungary
Citizens for Religious Tolerance	Program to Promote Religious Freedom and Tolerance in Bulgaria	Sofia, Bulgaria		Human rights/minority issues	Bulgaria
City of Bialystok	Community Outreach Program	Bialystok, Poland		Civic education	Poland
Civic Forum Foundation	Transition to Demcoratic Society Program	Karoliny Svetle 4 Prague 110 00/1 Czech Republic	(42-2) 267-230 (42-2) 422-8121	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Civic education	Czech Republic, Slovakia
CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation	Support for NGO's	919 18th Street, NW Third Floor Washington, DC 20006	(202) 331-8518 (202) 331-8774	NGO development	Regional
Civil Society Development Program	Civil Society Development Program	Meszoly u.III/3 Budapest 117, Hungary	(36-1) 166-1843 (36-1) 185-1706	NGO development	Hungary, Poland
Committee for Danubian Research; Institute of History of the 1956 Revolution in Budapest	"Teaching the Lessons of 1956 for Democracy" Project	Hungarian Academy of SciencesNador utca 361051 Budapest Hungary	(36-1) 322-5228 (36-1) 322-3084	Civic education	Hungary
Confederation of Labor (Bulgaria)	Union Administration Training Programs and Four Union Leadership Education Projects for Local and Regional Union Leaders			Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Bulgaria

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Confederation of Labor-Podkrepa (Bulgaria)	Voter Education Programs				
Congressional Human Rights Foundation	Institute on the Rule of Law	1056 Thomas Jefferson St. NW Washington, DC 20007	(202) 333-1407 (202) 333-1275	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
Congressional Human Rights Foundation	A Conference on Human Rights and Pluralism in Yugoslavia	1056 Thomas Jefferson St. NW Washington, DC 20007	(202) 333-1407 (202) 333-1275	Human rights/minority issues; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Yugoslavia
Consensus Building Institute	The Prevention of Internal Conflicts in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union	131 Mt. Auburn Cambridge, MA 02138-5752	(617) 492-1414 (617) 492-1919	Human rights/minority issues	Regional
Deloitte & Touche	Rule of Law: Legal Assistance	1001 Pennsylvania Ave, NW Suite 350 N. Washington, DC 20004-2505	(202) 879-5600 (202) 829-5607	Constitutional law/drafting; Legislative drafting/constitutional law	Regional
Delphi International Group	Civic Institutions: "DIG's Self-Help Development Program"	1019 19th Street, NW Suite 900 Washington, DC 20036	(212) 687-6200 (212) 370-5467	NGO development	Regional
Democracy After Communism Foundation (Budapest)	Practical Political Training for Young Democratic Party Activists and Emerging Political Leaders in Central and Eastern Europe	Hattyu utca 16 Budapest 1015, Hungary	(36-1) 201-9853 (36-1) 201-9853	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
Democracy After Communism Foundation (Budapest)	A Regional Workshop for Young Democrats	Hattyu utca 16 Budapest 1015, Hungary	(36-1) 201-9853 (36-1) 201-9853	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.) Human rights/minority issues; Civic education	Regional
Democracy After Communism Foundation (Budapest)	Regional Symposia on the Role of Women in the Political Process in Post-Communist Societies	Hattyu utca 16 Budapest 1015, Hungary	(36-1) 201-9853 (36-1) 201-9853	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.) Human rights/minority issues	Regional

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (Hungary); Hungarian Workers Council	Assistance for the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (Hungary) and Hungarian Workers Council	Cinkotai ut 34 Budapest 1172, Hungary	(36-1) 256-6474 (36-1) 256-6474	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Hungary
East-West Parliamentary Practice Project (EWPPP)	East-West Parliamentary Practice Project (EWPPP)	Dept. of Political Science University of Iowa Iowa City, IA 52242	(319) 335-2361 (319) 335-3211	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Albania
Educators for Social Responsibility	Leadership Development	23 Garden Street Cambridge, MA 02138	(617) 492-1764 (617) 864-5164	Civic education	Poland
Educators for Social Responsibility	Effective Learning and Democratic School Change Project	23 Garden St. Cambridge, MA 02138	(617) 492-1764 (617) 864-5164	Civic education	Poland
Erasmus Guild	Conference: "Round Table: Serbs & Croats"	Jurisiceva 2341000 Zagreb, Croatia	(385-1) 424-152 (385-1) 424-541	NGO development; Human rights/minority issues	Croatia, Yugoslavia
Erasmus Guild	Conference: "Strengthening Democracy"	Jurisiceva 2341000 Zagreb, Croatia	(385-1) 424-152 (385-1) 424-541	NGO development	Croatia, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina
European Foundation Center	ORPHEUS Civil Society Project	51 Rue de la Concorde Brusssels B-1050, Belgium	(322) 512-8938 (322) 512-3265	NGO development; Civic education	Regional
Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats	Internship Program for Officers in East European Foreign Ministeries	Armonk, NY		Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public Administration (education/training)	Regional
Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI)	"Transition to Freedom" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	1528 Walnut Street Suite 610 Philadelphia, PA 19102	(215) 732-3774 (215) 732-4401	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI)	Institute of International Relations	1528 Walnut Street Suite 610 Philadelphia, PA 19102	(215) 732-3774 (215) 732-4401	Public administration (education/training); Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Czech Republic

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Forum for Intercultural Communication; Foundation in Support of Local Democracy (Poland)*	Dialogue: Self-help in Local Governance	2440 Virginia Avenue, NW Suite C-102 Washington, DC 20037	(202) 775-7234 (202) 223-1669	Public administration (education/training)	Poland
Forum of Non-Governmental Initiatives Office	Program to Assist NGOs	ul. Zurawia 6/125th flr., Room 52400-503 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 625-1356 (48-22) 625-1356	NGO development; Public administration (education/training)	Poland
Foundation for a Civil Society*	Project on Justice in Times of Transition	1270 Ave. of the Americas Suite 609 New York, NY 10020	(212)332-2890 (212)332-2898	Civic education; NGO development; Public administration (education/training)	Worldwide
Foundation for a Civil Society*	Expert Advisors Program	1270 Ave. of the Americas Suite 609 New York, NY 10020	(212) 332-2890 (212) 332-2898	Civic education; NGO development; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/training); Constitutional law/drafting	Czech Republic, Slovakia
Foundation for a Civil Society*	Democracy Network Program - Czech Republic	1270 Ave. of the Americas Suite 609 New York, NY 10020	(212) 332-2890 (212) 332-2898	NGO development; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Czech Republic
Foundation for a Civil Society*	Democracy Network Program - Slovakia	1270 Ave. of the Americas Suite 609 New York, NY 10020	(212) 332-2890 (212) 332-2898	NGO developmentDevel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Slovakia
Foundation for a Civil Society*	Travel Grant Program	1270 Ave. of the Americas Suite 609 New York, NY 10020	(212) 332-2890 (212) 332-2898	Civic education; NGO development; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/training) Constitutional law/drafting	Czech Republic, Slovakia
Foundation for Democracy in Eastern Europe	Democratic Concepts and Institutional Reforms in Polish Schools			Civic education	Poland
Foundation for Education for Democracy	NGO Leadership Workshops	ul. Podwale 5/3000-25 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 27-76-36 (48-22) 27-76-36	NGO development; Human rights/minority issues	Poland, Newly Independent States

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Foundation for Education for Democracy	Train the Trainer Program for NGO Trainers	ul. Podwale 5/3000-25 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 27-76-36 (48-22) 27-76-36	NGO development	Poland, Newly Independent States
Foundation for Education for Democracy	Assistance to Student Self-Governments	ul. Podwale 5/3000-25 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 27-76-36 (48-22) 27-76-36	NGO development	Poland, Newly Independent States
Foundation for Education for Democracy	Methods of Teaching Civics at School Workshops	ul. Podwale 5/3000-25 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 27-76-36 (48-22) 27-76-36	Civic education	Poland, Newly Independent States
Foundation for Education for Democracy	Implementation of "Philosophy for Children" Program	ul. Podwale 5/3000-25 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 27-76-36 (48-22) 27-76-36	Civic education	Poland
Foundation for Education for Democracy	Conference Schools — Local Self-Government and State Government	ul. Podwale 5/3000-25 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 27-76-36 (48-22) 27-76-36	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/training)	Poland
Foundation for School Development	School Boards and Local Society Development Project	Budapest, Hungary		Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Hungary
Foundation for Teaching Economics	"Economics for Leaders" Program for Students and High School Teachers	260 Russell Blvd, Ste. B Davis, CA 95616	(916) 757-4630 (916) 757-4636	Civic education	Regional
Foundation in Support of Local Democracy	Polish Citizens Preparation for Local Elections and Participation in Local Government	Str. Krzjwickiego 902-078 Warsaw, Poland	(482) 225-2547 (482) 225-1416	Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Poland
Foundation in Support of Local Democracy; Rutgers University	Local Economic Autonomy in Poland	Str. Krzjwickiego 902-078 Warsaw, Poland	(482) 225-2547 (482) 225-1416	Public administration (education/training)	Poland
Foundation in Support of Local Democracy; Rutgers University	Model Citizen Participation Program	Str. Krzjwickiego 902-078 Warsaw, Poland	(48 22) 225-2547 (48 22) 225-1416	Civic education; Public administration (education/training)	Poland

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Foundation of Solidarity (Poland)	Assistance for Solidarity's Publishing, Educational and Self-Help Programs	ul. Flory 9 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 494-579 (48-22) 494-579	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Poland
Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, Inc.	Training Program in Central and Eastern Europe	717 Second Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	(202) 546-3000 (202) 543-5606	Legislative drafting/constitutional law; Law/academic training/legal education	Regional
Free Trade Union Institute	Participatory Political Systems: "Technical Assistance and Funding to Free Trade Unions in Eastern Europe"	815 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	(202) 637-5315 (202) 637-5263	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
George Mason University	City Government in Plzen, Czech Republic	4400 University Drive Fairfax, VA 22030-4444	(703) 993-1000 (703) 323-3849	Public administration (education/training)	Czech Republic
German Marshall Fund	Marshall Memorial Fellowship Program	11 Dupont Circle, NW Washington, DC 20036	(202) 745-3950 (202) 265-1662	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Civic education	Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia
German Marshall Fund	Political Development in ECE	11 Dupont Circle, NW Washington, DC 20036	(202) 745-3950 (202) 265-1662	Civic education; NGO development; Human rights/minority issues	Regional
Greek Institute for International and Strategic Studies	An International Scholars Program for Balkan and Mediterranean States	8 Arlington Road Chestnut Hill, MA 02167	(617) 253-3647 (617) 253-4235	Public administration (education/training)	Balkan countries, Greece
Harvard University	Program for Senior Managers in Government	John F. Kennedy School of Government 79 John F. Kennedy Street Cambridge, MA 02138	(617) 496-8534 (617) 496-4474	Public administration (education/training)	Regional
Harvard University	A Project to Strenthen Democratic Leadership in Eastern and Central Europe	John F. Kennedy School of Government 79 John F. Kennedy Street, Taubman 101 Cambridge, MA 02138	(617) 495-1653 (617) 496-8779	Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Hegeler Institute*	Conference: "Philosophy and Political Change in Eastern Europe"	Box 18 LaSalle, IL 61301	(815) 223-1500 (815) 223-4486	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Hungary
Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)*	Halki International Seminars: "Cooperation and Security in Europe, the Mediterranean and the Balkans"	17 Akademias str. 106 71 Athens, Greece	(30-1) 363-7627 (30-1) 364-2139	NGO development; Human rights/minority issues; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/ training)	Regional
Helsinki Citizens Assembly	Working for Democracy in Europe	Milady Horakove 103160-00 Prague 6, Czech Republic	(42-2) 323-259 (42-2) 323-538	Human rights/minority issues	Czech Republic
Helsinki Citizens Assembly - USA	Study Tour for Women Trade Unionists, Journalists, and Activists	Philadelphia, PA		Human rights/minority issues	Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania
Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Press Center	Project to Increase Media Awareness on Human Rights Issues	Warsaw, Poland		Human rights/minority issues	Poland
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace	Transition Program	Stanford University Stanford, CA 94305-6010	(415) 723-1754 (415) 723-1687	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.) Public administration (education/training)	Regional
Human Rights Project	Project to Monitor Human Rights Abuses Against the Roma	Sofia, Bulgaria		Human rights/minority issues	Bulgaria
Humanitas Foundation in Romania	A Seminar on Democracy			Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Romania
Hungarian Chamber of Non-Profit Human Services	Non-Profit Development Program	Karoly Krt. 2½ Floor H-1052 Budapest, Hungary	(36-1) 266-9035	NGO development	Hungary
Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance (Autonomia Alapitvany)*	Non-profit Sector Program	Budakeszi ut 555th flr. #2 Budapest 1021, Hungary	(36-1) 393-0621 (36-1) 176-7435	NGO development; Human rights/minority issues	Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Independent Center for International Studies	Cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe				
Independent Center on Nonprofit Sector	NGO Development Project	Slovenska 54 Ljubljana 61000, Slovenia	(386-61) 71-3404 (386-61) 71-3411	NGO development	Slovenia
Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman	Promoting Women's Rights in Albania	Tirana, Albania		Human rights/minority issues	Albania
Information and Advice Center for Disabled Persons of the CITON Foundation	Program to Promote Disability-Related Issues	ul. Szosa Zambrowska 1/2718-40 Lomza, Poland	(48-86) 16-49-06	Human rights/minority issues; Public administration (education/training)	Poland
Information Center for Foundations (Informacni Centrum Nadaci, Praha)		Karoliny Svetle 4 Prague 110 00, Czech Republic	(42-2) 267-233	NGO development	Czech Republic
Institute for Contemporary Studies	Development of Democracy and Free-Market Economies	243 Kearny Street San Francisco, CA 94108-0000	(415) 981-5353 (415) 986-4878	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)	Centers for Pluralism Project	2000 P Street, NW Suite 400 Washington DC 20036	(202) 466-7105 (202) 466-7140	NGO development	Regional
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)	Assistance for Independent Publishing Houses, Self-Education and Human Rights Groups in Poland	2000 P Street, NW Suite 400 Washington DC 20036	(202) 466-7105 (202) 466-7140	Human rights/minority issues; NGO development	Poland
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)	Support Work Inside Poland	2000 P Street, NW Suite 400 Washington DC 20036	(202) 466-7105 (202) 466-7140	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); NGO development	Poland
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)	Mobilization of Voters for the National Elections in Romania	2000 P Street, NW Suite 400 Washington DC 20036	(202) 466-7105 (202) 466-7140	Civic education	Romania

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Institute for East-West Studies; Foundation for a Civil Society; The Information Center for Foundations	Worldnet Series for NGOs: The Role of Non-for-Profit Sector in a Democratic Society	360 Lexington Avenue New York, NY 10017	(212) 557-2570 (212) 949-8043	NGO development	Czech Republic
Institute for East-West Studies; Foundation for a Civil Society; The Information Center for Foundations	Conference on the Relationship of the Non-Profit Sector and the State in the Czech Republic	360 Lexington Avenue New York, NY 10017	(212) 557-2570 (212) 949-8043	NGO development; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Czech Republic
Institute for East-West Studies (IEWS)*	Managing Ethnic Conflict: Emerging Domestic and Bilateral Approaches	European Studies Center Prague, Czech Republic	(42-2) 296-759 (42-2) 294-380	Human rights/minority issues	Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Albania, Macedonia
Institute for International Economics	Integrated Program on the Progress of Political and Economic Reform in CEE	11 Dupont Circle, NW Suite 620 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 328-9000 (202) 328-5432	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
Institute for Religion and Democracy	Religious Liberty Program	1521 16th Street, NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 986-1440 (202) 986-3159	Human rights/minority issues	Regional
Institute for Religion and Democracy	Building Democracy Program	1521 16th Street, NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	(202) 986-1440 (202) 986-3159	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Civic education	Regional
Institute for Resource and Security Studies	Conflict Resolution Training in the Balkans	27 Ellworth Avenue Cambridge, MA 02139	(617) 491-5177 (617) 491-6904	Human rights/minority issues	Balkan Countries
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Science	Gender Identity of Polish Women	ul. Nowy Swiat 72 Warsaw 00-330, Poland		Human rights/minority issues	Poland
Institute of Public Administration	Internship Program in Public Administration for the National School of Public Administration, Poland	55 West 44th Street New York, NY 10036	(212) 730-5480 (212) 398-9305	Public administration (education/training); Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Civic education	Poland

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Institute of Public Administration	Public Procurement Training for Municipalities in the Czech Republic	55 West 44th Street New York, NY 10036-6652 USA	(212) 730-5480 (212) 398-9305	Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/ training)	Czech Republic
Institute of Public Administration	Local Government Management Training in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland	55 West 44th Street New York, NY 10036-6652	(212) 730-5480 (212) 398-9305	Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/ training)	Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland
Institute of Public Administration	Civil Service Reform Seminars in Poland	55 West 44th Street New York, NY 10036-6652	(212) 730-5480 (212) 398-9305	Civic education; Public administration (education/training); Dev of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues etc.)	Poland
Institute of Sociology - Hungarian Academy of Sciences - Center for European Studies	The Workshop "The Present and Future Roles of Party/State Apparatus and Nomenklaturas in Peaceful Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy" held in Budapest	Uri utca 49 Budapest 1014, Hungary	(36-1) 175-9011 (36-1) 175-2537	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
International Center for Not-for-Profit Law*	CEE Democracy Network Program: Legal Framework	1511 K Street, NWSuite 723Washington, DC 20005	(202) 624-0766 (202) 624-0767	NGO development	Regional
International Centre for Minorities Studies and Intercultrural Relations	Training of Local Government Officials and Media Information Program	Sofia, Bulgaria		Public administration (education/training); Human rights/ minority issues	Bulgaria
International City Management Associates	Democratic Governance and Public Administration: "Strengthening National Municipal Associations in Poland and Czechoslovakia"	777 N. Capital St., NE Suite 500 Washington, DC 20002	(202) 289-4262 (202) 962-3500	Public administration (education/training)	Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
International Foundation for Election Systems	Central European Electoral Systems Symposium	1101 15th Street, NW 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20005	(202) 828-8507 (202) 452-0804	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); NGO development; Civic education	Regional, NIS
International Foundation for Election Systems	Association for Central East European Election Officials (ACEEEO) Annual Conference	1101 15th Street, NW 3rd Floor Washington, DC 20005	(202) 828-8507 (202) 452-0804	Civic education; NGO development; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional, NIS
International Human Rights Law Group	Training Program for Romanian Lawyers and Law Groups	1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 700 Washington, DC 20009	(202) 232-8500 (202) 232-6731	Human rights/minority issues; Law/academic training/legal education	Romania
International Law Institute	Training Seminars	1615 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20009	(202) 483-3036 (202) 483-3029	Law/academic training/legal education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
International Leadership Institute, Inc.	Executive Education Programs for Central European Professional Leaders	100 Executive Way Suite 218 Ponte Vedra Beach, FL 32082	(904) 285-5467 (904) 285-4956	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Law/academic training/legal education	Regional
International Peace Academy	Annual Seminar on Peacekeeping and Peace-making (Vienna)	777 United Nations Plaza New York, NY 10017-3521	(212) 687-4300 (212) 983-8246	Human rights/minority issues	Regional/Global
International Peace Academy	Annual Seminar on Peacekeeping and Peace-making (New York)	777 United Nations Plaza New York, NY 10017-3521	(212) 687-4300 (212) 983-8246	Human rights/minority issues	Regional/Global
International Republican Institute	Participatory Political Systems: "CEE Election Observation, Training, Technical and Infrastructure Assistance"	1212 New York Ave, NW Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005	(202) 408-9450 (202) 408-9462	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)*	Central and East European Graduate Fellowships Program	1616 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	(202) 628-8188 (202) 628-8189	Civic education; NGO development; Human rights/minority issues; Public administration (education/training)	Regional

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)*	CSCE/NGO Study Tour	1616 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	(202) 628-8188 (202) 628-8189	Civic education; NGO development; Human rights/ minority issues; Public Administration (education/training)	Albania, Macedonia, Central Asian countries
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)*	Public Policy Fellowships Program	1616 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	(202) 628-8188 (202) 628-8189	Civic education; NGO development; Public administration (education/training)	Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, United States
Johns Hopkins University-Institute for Policy Studies*	Third Sector Project	Wyman Park Building 3400 N. Charles Street Baltimore, MD 21218-2696	(410) 516-7174 (410) 516-8233	NGO development; Public administration (education/ training)	Regional
Kentucky Coalition, Inc.	Community Organizing Project	Kossuth Lajos u. 1392094 Nagykovacsi Hungary	(36-1) 136-3370	NGO development	Hungary
Kulakow Associates, Inc.	Technical Assistance in Implementing DIALOG Process	Potomac, MD		Civic education	Romania
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights	Advising in Eastern Europe on Refugees	330 Seventh Avenue Tenth Floor New York, NY 10001	(212) 629-6170 (212) 967-0916	Human rights/minority issues; Law/academic training/legal education	Regional
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights	Human Rights Program	330 Seventh Avenue Tenth Floor New York, NY 10001	(212) 629-6170 (212) 967-0916	Human rights/minority issues; Law/academic training/legal education	Regional
League for the Defence of Human Rights	Program Expansion and Development	Bucharest, Romania		Human rights/minority issues	Romania
League of Women Voters Education Fund*	Emerging Democracies Program	1730 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20036	(202) 429-1965 (202) 429-0854	Civic education; NGO development	Hungary Poland
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute	Women Leaders Symposium in the former Yugoslavia			Human rights/minority issues; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Yugoslavia, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute	Grassroots Civic Education and Training for Political Activists and Opinion Makers in Slovenia			Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Slovenia
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute	Civic and Political Education for Pro-Democratic Representatives in Bosnian Exile Community in Slovenia			Civic education; Human rights/minority issues	Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute	Civil and Politcal Education in Serbia			Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Slovenia, Yugoslavia
Library of Congress - Congressional Research Service	Program on Soviet and East European Governance	Room LM 203 Madison Building Washington DC 20540	(202) 707-8924 (202) 707-2615		
Local Democracy in Poland	Local Democracy through Local Government: Training and Capacity Building in Poland	Office of International Programs Rutgers University 172 College Avenue New Brunswick, NJ 08903	(908) 932-8551; (908) 932-1593 (908) 932-1144	Civic education; Public administration (education/ training)	Poland
Malapolska Education Society - Nowy Sacz Branch	Program to Improve the Management of Village Schools	ul. Limanowskiego 733-30 Nowy Sacz, Poland	(48-18) 42-36-44	Public administration (education/training); Civic education	Poland
Man, Education, and New Technologies (MENT)	Program to Assist with the Education of Romany Children			Civic education; Human rights/minority issues	Czech Republic
Michigan State University	Leadership for Democracy Program	Center for Advanced Study of International Development 306 Berkey Hall East Lansing, MI 48824-1111	(517) 353-5925 (517) 353-4840	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.) Public Administration (education/training)	Hungary
Milan Simecka Foundation	Human Rights at School Project	Hviezdoslavovo nam. 17811 02 Bratislava, Slovak Republic	(42-7) 333-552 or 331-593 (42-7) 331-593	Civic education; Human rights/minority issues	Slovakia

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA)*	Strengthening Local Governance and Public Administration in the Czech Republic	1120 G Street, NW Suite 850 Washington, DC 20005	(202) 347-3190 (202) 393-0993	Public administration (education/training)	Czech Republic
National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA)*	Budapest University of Economics: Center for Public Affairs	1120 G Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	(202) 628-8965 (202) 626-4978	Public administration (education/training)	Hungary
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs	Participatory Political Systems: "Support for the Democratic Election Process in CEE"	1717 Massachusetts Ave, NW Suite 503 Washington, D.C 20036	(202) 328-3136 (202) 939-3166	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
National Endowment for Democracy	An Integrated Program on the Relationship between Political Democracy and Economic Freedom	1101 Fifteenth Street, NW Suite 203 Washington, DC 20005	(202) 293-9072 (202) 223-6042	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
National Endowment for Democracy	Participatory Political Systems: "Support for Democratic Initiatives in Poland and Hungary"	1101 15th Street, NW Suite 503 Washington, DC 20005	(202) 293-9072 (202) 223-6042	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Poland, Hungary
National Forum Foundation*	Democracy Network Project	Menesi ut 181118 Budapest, Hungary	(36-1) 185-3108 (36-1) 185-3108	NGO development	Regional
National Forum Foundation*	Central and East European Internship Program	511 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	(202) 543-3515 (202) 547-4101	Civic education; NGO development; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration (education/training)	Regional

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
National Forum Foundation*	American Volunteers for International Development (AVID)	511 C Street, NE Washington, DC 20002	(202) 543-3515 (202) 547-4101	NGO development; Public administration (education/ training)	Regional
National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL)*	Public Legal Education	711 G Street, SE Washington, DC 20003	(202) 546-6644 (202) 546-6649	Civic education; Human rights/minority issues	Hungary
New School for Social Research	Democracy Fellowships	66 W 12th Street New York, NY 10011-8693	(212) 229-5600 (212) 645-0661	Public administration (education/training)	Regional
New School for Social Research, East and Central Europe Program	Democracy and Diversity Summer Graduate Institute in Krakow, Poland	65 Fifth Avenue Room 423 New York, NY 10003	(212) 229-5580 (212) 229-5894	Public administration (education/training)	Regional
New Visions	"Inventing the Future: A New Generation of Change in Eastern Europe"	1601 Connecticut Ave, NW Fifth Floor Washington, DC 20009	(202) 234-9382 (202) 387-7915	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
Nonprofit Information and Training Center	Hungarian NGO Development Project	2 Radnoti St. Ste. 311H-1137 Budapest, Hungary	(361) 132-9716 (361) 269-0242	Human rights/minority issues	Hungary
Northeastern University School of Law*	A US-Poland Conference: Rights Legality and Democratization	400 Huntington Ave. Boston, MA 02115	(617) 373-3290 (617) 373-9056	Law/academic training/legal education; Human rights/ minority issues; Constitutional law/drafting; Legislative drafting/constitutional law	Poland
OECD	Rule of Law: "Competition Policy, Laws and Regulations"	2 rue André Pascal 75775 Paris Cedex 16, France	(33-1) 45-24-9204 (33-1) 45-24-9438	Legislative drafting/constitutional law; Constitutional law/ drafting; Law/academic training/legal education	Regional
Ohio State University - Mershon Center*	Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland	1501 Neil Ave. Columbus, OH 43201	(614) 292-1681 (614) 292-2407	Civic education	Poland
Olomouc Student Leader Program	Program to Introduce Secondary Students to New Ideas of Civic Responsibilty			Civic education	Czech Republic

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Organize Training Center	Meeting to Determine Interest in Setting Up a Community Organizing Project	San Francisco, CA		NGO development	Poland
Palacky University, School of Law*	Tha Association of the Bar of the City of New York	tr. 17 listopadu 8 771 00 Olomouc, Czech Rep.	(42-68) 522-4241 (42-68) 522-3537	Law/academic training/legal education	Czech Republic
Palacky University, School of Law*	Citizen and Law	tr. 17 listopadu 8 771 00 Olomouc, Czech Rep.	(42-68) 522-4241 (42-68) 522-3537	Law/academic training/legal education	Czech Republic
Partners for Democratic Change	The Establishment of Local and Regional Conciliation Commissions in Central and Eastern Europe	823 Ulloa Street San Francisco, CA 94127 222 Mamaroneck Avenue White Plains, NY 10605	(415) 665-0652 (CA) (914) 948-8802 (NY) (415) 665-2732 (CA) (914) 948-3925 (NY)	Human rights/minority issues; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/ etc.)Civic education	Regional
Partners for Democratic Change	Training Workshops	823 Ulloa Street San Francisco, CA 94127 222 Mamaroneck Avenue White Plains, NY 10605	(415) 665-0652 (CA) (914) 948-8802 (NY) (415) 665-2732 (CA) (914) 948-3925 (NY)	Human rights/minority issues; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/ etc.)Civic education	Regional
Partners for International Education and Training	Participant Training Project for Europe	1990 M Street, NW Suite 310 Washington D.C. 20036	(202) 223-4291 (202) 223-4289	NGO development; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Human rights/minority issues; Public administration (education/ training)	Regional
Partners Hungary Foundation	Conflict Resolution and Prevention	Szent Istvan krt.10.II.21137 Budapest, Hungary	(36-1) 302-2874 (36-1) 302-2874	Human rights/minority issues; NGO development; Civic education; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Hungary
Partners Hungary Foundation	Training Programs in Communication, Cooperation, Negotiation Skills, and Cooperative Planning	Szent Istvan krt. 101137 Budapest Hungary	(36-1) 302-2874 (36-1) 302-2874	Civic education; NGO development; Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.) Human rights/ minority issues	Hungary

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
People to People Health Foundation	Civic Institutions: "The Support for the PVO Humanitarian/Development Initiative Project in CEE"	Project Hope Health Services Millwood, VA 22646	(703) 837-2100 (703) 837-1813	NGO development	Regional
Places in the Heart Foundation (Prague)	Involvement of Private Citizens in Civic Activities	Mista v Srdci,Jugoslavskych Partyzanu 11,160 00 Prague, Czech Rep.	(42-2) 311-8390 (42-2) 311-8390	Civic education	Czech Republic
Polish Children and Youth Foundation	Support for Programs Promoting Democratic Education	ul. Jasna 22, #200 P.O. Box 12500-05 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 264-473	Civic education; NGO development	Poland
Polish Children and Youth Foundation	"Young Partners" Small Grant Program	ul. Jasna 22, #200 P.O. Box 12500-05 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 264-473	Civic education	Poland
Polish-American Congress	The Independent Polish Agency (IPA) Program	1625 K Street NW Suite 505 Washington, DC 20006	(202) 296-6955 (202) 835-1565	NGO development	Poland
Polish-American Congress	The Establishment of the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy	1625 K Street NW Suite 505 Washington, DC 20006	(202) 296-6955 (202) 835-1565	Public administration (education/training)	Poland
Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation	Transborder Cooperation and Integration in Central Europe on Cultural, Educational and Local Government Issues	ul. Flory 900-586 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 481-605 (48-22) 494-978	Public administration (education/training)	Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia
Princeton University - Institute for Advanced Study	East European Development Program	Princeton, NJ 08540	(609) 739-8200 (609) 683-7605	Law/academic training/legal education	Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania
Pro Minoritate Foundation	The Making of Liberal Societies	Lendvai utca 28 Budapest 1062, Hungary		Human rights/minority issues	Hungary, Romania
Project Concern International	Civic Institutions: "The Support for the PVO Humanitarian/Development Initiative Project in Romania"	3550 Sfton Road San Diego, CA 92123		NGO development	Romania

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Project on Ethnic Relations*	Project on Ethnic Relations	1 Palmer Square, Suite 435 Princeton, NJ 08542	(609) 683-5666 (609) 683-5888	Civic education; Human rights/minority issues	Regional
Robert Schuman Foundation of Poland	Program to Encourage Participation in Pro-European Initiatives	Al. Ujazdowskie 3700-54 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 621-2161 (48-22) 629-7214	Civic education	Poland
Romanian Society for Human Rights	Roundtables on Human Rights	Bucharest, Romania		Human rights/minority issues	Regional
Rutgers University	Democratic Governance and Public Administration: "Training of Local Government Officials in Poland"	P.O. Box 1089 Piscataway, NJ 08854	(908) 932-8551 (908) 932-1593 (908) 932-1144	Civic education	Poland
Rutgers University - Center For Russian, Central, and East European Studies	Public Awareness Campaign	Office of International Programs Rutgers University 172 College Avenue New Brunswick, NJ 08903	(908) 932-8551 (908) 932-1144	Civic education	Regional
Slovak Academic Information Agency	Democracy Network: Slovakia	Hviezdoslavovo nam 14POB 108 Bratislava 81000, Slovakia	(42-7) 333-010 (42-7) 332-192	NGO development	Slovakia
Slovak Academic Information Agency	Non-Profit Training and Information Project	Hviezdoslavovo nam. 14 Bratislava 811 02, Slovakia	(42-7) 333-010	NGO development	Slovakia
Slovene Academy of Science and Arts - Institute of Philosophy	Seminar: "Rights & Collective Identities: Nationalism & Threats to Liberty"	Llubljana, Slovenia		Human rights/minority issues	Regional
Social Assistance SOS Foundation	Assistance to NGOs	ul. Nowolipie 9/1100-16 Warsaw, Poland	(48-22) 635-2773 (48-22) 635-4602	NGO development	Poland
Soros Foundation - Hungary	Community Education Project	888 Seventh Avenue Suite 1901 New York, NY 10106	(212) 757-2323 (212) 974-0367	Civic education	Hungary

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
Stanford University - Hoover Institution*	The Diplomat Training Program	Stanford, CA 94305-6010	(415) 723-1501 (415) 725-3569	Civic education	Regional
State University of New York	Participatory Political Systems: "Institutionalism of Democratic Pluralism in Hungary"	Research Foundation Albany, NY 12201-0009		Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Hungary
Stefan Batory Foundation	Decommunization and Democracy in Eastern Europe	ul. Flory 9, 4th Floor Warsaw 00-586, Poland	(48-22) 488-055 (48-22) 493-561	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Poland
Support Center	Slovak Non-Profit Technical Assistance and Training Project	2001 O Street, NW Washington, DC 20036-5955	(202) 296-3900 (202) 857-0077	NGO development	Slovakia
Syracuse University - Maxwell School*	Building Local Government Capacity in Hungary: Programs for Vulnerable Populations	New York, NY 13244-3712	(315) 443-3712 (315) 443-5451	NGO development; Public administration (education/ training)	Hungary
Syracuse University - Utica College	Human Rights Advocacy Project	1600 Burrstone Road Utica, NY 13502	(315) 792-3111 (315) 792-3292	Human rights/minority issues	Regional
Team Technologies, Inc.	Democratic Governance and Public Administration: "Technical Assistance for Polish Parliament "	3810 Concorde Parkway Chantilly, VA 22021		Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.) Public administration (education/training)	Poland
Technoserve Inc.	Civic Institutions: "The Support for the PVO Humanitarian/Development Initiative Project in Poland"	49 Day Street Norwalk, CT 06854		NGO development	Poland

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
U.S. House of Representatives	Democratic Governance and Public Administration: "Task Force on the Development of Parliamentary Institutions in Eastern Europe"	c/o Rep. Martin Frost 2459 Rayburn House Office Building Washington, DC 20515-4324	(202) 224-3121 (202) 225-4951	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.); Public administration	Regional
Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth	Program to Strengthen Public Awareness of Minority Issues	ul Dlugi Targ 8/1080-82 Gdansk, Poland	(48-12) 31-58-78	NGO development; Human rights/minority issues	Poland
Union of Polish Towns and Cities	Program to Develop Local Government Support Units	ul. Stary Rynek 80/8261-77 Poznan, Poland	(48-61) 53-08-13 (48-61) 53-08-14	Public administration (education/training)	Poland
United Way International	Democracy Network: Hungary	701 N. Fairfax Street Alexandria, VA 22314-2045	(703) 519-0092 (703) 519-0097	NGO development	Hungary
University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)	Conference: "Democratization in Central/Eastern Europe and Latin America: Political Practice and Regime Transitions"	Contracts and Grants Administration 405 Hilgard Avenue Los Angeles, CA 90024-0140	(310) 825-4321	Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
University of California, Berkeley	Regional Planning and Training near Wroclow	120 Sproul Hall Berkeley, CA 94720		Public Administration (education/training)	Poland
University of California, Berkeley - Center for German and European Studies (International and Area Studies)	"The Erosion of Nation-Sate Sovreignty and Ethnic and Sectarian Conflict"	120 Sproul Hall Berkeley, CA 94720		Human rights/minority issues	Regional
University of Maryland	Rule of Law: "Regulatory Simplification and Legal Reform in Poland"	IRIS Center University of Maryland 7100 Baltimore Ave. Ste 510 College Park, MD 20740		Law/academic training/legal education	Poland
University of Maryland Foundation - Women in International Security	Conference on Ethnic Conflict Resolution in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union	College Park, MD 20742	(301) 403-8109	Human rights/minority issues	Regional

ORGANIZATION	PROGRAM NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	FIELD OF ACTIVITY	COUNTRIES
University of Pittsburgh-International Management Development Institute at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs*	International Affairs Network	3J03 Forbes Quadrangle Pittsburgh, PA 15260-0001	(412) 648-7435 (412) 648-2222	Public administration (education/training); Devel. of dem. govt. (pol. parties, election issues/etc.)	Regional
University of South Carolina - Institute of Public Affairs*	Democratic Governance and Public Administration: Local Government Training in Bulgaria	Carolina Plaza Columbia, SC 29208	(803) 777-8157 (803) 777-4575	Public Administration (education/training)	Bulgaria
University of Southern California	Democratic Governance and Public Administration: Local Government Training in Hungary	University Park Los Angeles, CA 90089-1147			
VOICE International	Support for the Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman	Arlington, VA		Human rights/minority issues; NGO development	Albania
William O. Douglas Enquiry	Seminar on Presidential Power for the Legal Staff of Slovak President Michael Kovac	American University — Dean's Fund Washington, DC		Public Administration (education/training)	Slovakia
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars	"Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Cold War Era"	370 L'Enfant Promenade, SW Suite 704 Washington, DC 20024-2518	(202) 287-3000 (202) 287-3772	NGO devel. pment	Regional
World Policy Institute	Central and Eastern Europe Project	65 Fifth Avenue, Room 413 New York, NY 10003	(212) 229-5808 (212) 229-5579	NGO development	Regional

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Indexes of Organizations

Organizations by ECE Country of Activity

ALBANIA

Albanian Human Rights Center
East-West Pariamentary Practice Project (EWPPP)
Helsinki Citizens Assembly - USA
Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman
Institute for East-West Studies (IEWS)
VOICE International

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Erasmus Guild
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute

BULGARIA

Association of Professional Psychologists in Education
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections; National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
Bulgarian Helsinki Committee
Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights
Center for the Study of Democracy
Citizens for Religious Tolerance
Helsinki Citizens Assembly - USA
Human Rights Project
Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance (Autonomia Alapitvany)
International Centre for Minorities Studies and Intercultural Relations
University of South Carolina - Institute of Public Affairs

CROATIA

Erasmus Guild
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute

CZECH REPUBLIC

American Council of Learned Societies
Civic Forum Foundation
Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI)
Foundation for a Civil Society
George Mason University
Helsinki Citizens Assembly
Information Center for Foundations (Informacni Centrum Nadaci, Praha)
Institute for East - West Studies; Foundation for a Civil Society; The Information Center for Foundations
Institute of Public Administration
International City Management Associates
Man, Education, and New Technologies (MENT)
National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA)
Olomouc Student Leader Program
Palacky University, School of Law
Places in the Heart Foundation (Prague)
Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation
Princeton University - Institute for Advanced Study

HUNGARY

American Council of Learned Societies
Center for the Defense of Human Rights - Martin Luther King Project (MEJOK)
Chamber of Nonprofit Human Services
Civil Society Development Program
Committee for Danubian Research; Institute of History of the 1956 Revolution in Budapest
Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (Hungary); Hungarian Workers Council
Foundation for School Development
Hegeler Institute
Helsinki Citizens Assembly - USA
Hungarian Chamber of Non-Profit Human Services
Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance (Autonomia Alapitvany)
Institute for East-West Studies (IEWS)
Kentucky Coalition, Inc.
League of Women Voters Education Fund
Michigan State University
National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA)
National Endowment for Democracy
National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL)
Nonprofit Information and Training Center
Partners Hungary Foundation
Princeton University - Institute for Advanced Study
Pro Minoritate Foundation
Soros Foundation - Hungary
State University of New York
Syracuse University - Maxwell School
United Way International

MACEDONIA

Erasmus Guild
Institute for East-West Studies (IEWS)
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute

POLAND

Academy for Educational Development (Warsaw Office)
American Committee for Aid to Poland
American Council of Learned Societies
BORIS (Support Office for the Movement of Self-Help Initiatives)
Central Connecticut State University
City of Bialystok
Civil Society Development Program
Educators for Social Responsibility
Forum for Intercultural Communication; Foundation in Support of Local Democracy (Poland)
Forum of Non-Governmental Initiatives Office
Foundation for Democracy in Eastern Europe
Foundation for Education for Democracy
Foundation in Support of Local Democracy
Foundation in Support of Local Democracy; Rutgers University
Foundation of Solidarity (Poland)
Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Press Center
Information and Advice Center for Disabled Persons of the CITON Foundation
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Science
Institute of Public Administration
International City Management Associates
League of Women Voters Education Fund
Local Democracy in Poland
Malapolska Education Society - Nowy Sacz Branch
National Endowment for Democracy
Northeastern University School of Law
Ohio State University - Mershon Center

Organize Training Center
Polish Children and Youth Foundation
Polish-American Congress
Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation
Robert Schuman Foundation of Poland
Rutgers University - Center For Russian, Central, and East European Studies
Social Assistance SOS Foundation
Stefan Batory Foundation
Team Technologies, Inc.
Technoserve Inc.
Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth
Union of Polish Towns and Cities
University of California, Berkeley
University of Maryland

ROMANIA

"Agora," Romanian Language Cultural Quaterly; Group for Social Dialogue
APADOR - Romanian Helsinki Committee
Helsinki Citizens Assembly - USA
Humanitas Foundation in Romania
Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance (Autonomia Alapitvany)
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe
Institute for East-West Studies (IEWS)
International Human Rights Law Group
Kulakow Associates, Inc.
League for the Defence of Human Rights
Princeton University - Institute for Advanced Study
Pro Minoritate Foundation
Project Concern International

SLOVAKIA

American Council of Learned Societies
Civic Forum Foundation
Foundation for a Civil Society
Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance (Autonomia Alapitvany)
Institute for East-West Studies (IEWS)
Institute of Public Administration
International City Management Associates
Slovak Academic Information Agency
Support Center
William O. Douglas Enquiry

SLOVENIA

Erasmus Guild
Independent Center on Nonprofit Sector
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute

YUGOSLAVIA

Center for Anti-War Action - Belgrade; Institute for Federalism
Congressional Human Rights Foundation
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute

REGIONAL

AFL-CIO
American Bar Association Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)
American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
American University
Aspen Institute
Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA)
Batory Foundation
Center for Strategic and International Studies
CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation
Congressional Human Rights Foundation
Consensus Building Institute
Deloitte & Touche
Delphi International Group
Democracy After Communism Foundation (Budapest)
European Foundation Center
Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats
Foreign Policy Research Institute
Foundation for Teaching Economics
Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, Inc.
Free Trade Union Institute
German Marshall Fund
Harvard University
Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace
Institute for Contemporary Studies
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe
Institute for International Economics
Institute for Religion and Democracy
Institute of Sociology - Hungarian Academy of Sciences - Center for European Studies
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)
International Foundation for Election Systems

International Law Institute
International Leadership Institute, Inc.
International Peace Academy
International Republican Institute
Johns Hopkins University-Institute for Policy Studies
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
National Endowment for Democracy
National Forum Foundation
New School for Social Research
New School for Social Research, East and Central Europe Program
New Visions
OECD
Partners for Democratic Change
Partners for International Education and Training
Project on Ethnic Relations
Slovene Academy of Science and Arts - Institute of Philosophy
Stanford University - Hoover Institution
Syracuse University - Utica College
University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)
University of California, Berkeley - Center for German and European Studies (International and Area Studies)
University of Maryland Foundation - Women in International Security
University of Pittsburgh - International Management Development Institute at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
World Policy Institute

Indexes of Organizations

Organizations by Field of Activity

CIVIC EDUCATION

Academy for Educational Development (Warsaw Office)
"Agora," Romanian Language Cultural Quaterly; Group for Social Dialogue
American Committee for Aid to Poland
American Council of Learned Societies
American Federation of Teachers
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections; National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
City of Bialystok
Civic Forum Foundation
Committee for Danubian Research; Institute of History of the 1956 Revolution in Budapest
Democracy After Communism Foundation (Budapest)
Educators for Social Responsibility
European Foundation Center
Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI)
Foundation for a Civil Society
Foundation for Democracy in Eastern Europe
Foundation for Education for Democracy
Foundation for Teaching Economics
Foundation in Support of Local Democracy; Rutgers University
German Marshall Fund
Harvard University
Humanitas Foundation in Romania
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)
Institute for Religion and Democracy
Institute of Public Administration
International Foundation for Election Systems
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)
Kulakow Associates, Inc.

League of Women Voters Education Fund
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute
Local Democracy in Poland
Malapolska Education Society - Nowy Sacz Branch
Man, Education, and New Technologies (MENT)
Milan Simecka Foundation
National Forum Foundation
National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL)
Ohio State University - Mershon Center
Olomouc Student Leader Program
Partners for Democratic Change
Partners Hungary Foundation
Places in the Heart Foundation (Prague)
Polish Children and Youth Foundation
Project on Ethnic Relations
Robert Schuman Foundation of Poland
Rutgers University - Center For Russian, Central, and East European Studies
Soros Foundation - Hungary
Stanford University - Hoover Institution

NGO DEVELOPMENT

Academy for Educational Development (Warsaw Office)
AFL-CIO
American Bar Association (CEELI)
American Committee for Aid to Poland
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
BORIS (Support Office for the Movement of Self-Help Initiatives)
Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights
Center for the Study of Democracy
CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation
Civil Society Development Program
Delphi International Group
Erasmus Guild
European Foundation Center
Forum of Non-Governmental Initiatives Office
Foundation for a Civil Society
Foundation for Education for Democracy
German Marshall Fund
Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
Hungarian Chamber of Non-Profit Human Services
Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance (Autonomia Alapitvany)
Independent Center on Nonprofit Sector
Information Center for Foundations (Informacni Centrum Nadaci, Praha)
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)
Institute for East - West Studies; Foundation for a Civil Society; The Information Center for Foundations
International Center for Not-for-Profit Law
International Foundation for Election Systems
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)
Johns Hopkins University-Institute for Policy Studies
Kentucky Coalition, Inc.
League of Women Voters Education Fund
National Forum Foundation
Organize Training Center
Partners for International Education and Training
Partners Hungary Foundation
Polish Children and Youth Foundation
Polish-American Congress
Project Concern International
Slovak Academic Information Agency
Social Assistance SOS Foundation
Support Center
Syracuse University - Maxwell School
Technoserve Inc.
Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth
United Way International
VOICE International
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
World Policy Institute

HUMAN RIGHTS/MINORITY ISSUES

Albanian Human Rights Center
American Bar Association (CEELI)
APADOR - Romanian Helsinki Committee
Aspen Institute
Association of Professional Psychologists in Education
Bulgarian Helsinki Committee
Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights
Center for Anti-War Action - Belgrade; Institute for Federalism
Center for the Defense of Human Rights - Martin Luther King Project (MEJOK)
Citizens for Religious Tolerance
Congressional Human Rights Foundation
Consensus Building Institute
Democracy After Communism Foundation (Budapest)
Erasmus Guild

Foundation for Education for Democracy
German Marshall Fund
Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
Helsinki Citizens Assembly
Helsinki Citizens Assembly - USA
Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Press Center
Human Rights Project
Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance (Autonomia Alapitvany)
Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman
Information and Advice Center for Disabled Persons of the CITON Foundation
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)
Institute for East-West Studies (IEWS)
Institute for Religion and Democracy
Institute for Resource and Security Studies
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Science
International Centre for Minorities' Studies and Intercultrural Relations
International Human Rights Law Group
International Peace Academy
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
League for the Defence of Human Rights
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute
Man, Education, and New Technologies (MENT)
Milan Simecka Foundation
National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL)
Nonprofit Information and Training Center
Northeastern University School of Law
Partners for Democratic Change
Partners for International Education and Training
Partners Hungary Foundation
Pro Minoritate Foundation
Project on Ethnic Relations
Slovene Academy of Science and Arts - Inst. of Phil.
Syracuse University - Utica College
Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth
University of California, Berkeley - Center for German and European Studies (International and Area Studies)
University of Maryland Foundation - Women in International Security
VOICE International

DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT (POLITICAL PARTIES, ELECTION ISSUES, ETC.)

Aspen Institute
Batory Foundation
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections; National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
Center for Strategic and International Studies
Civic Forum Foundation
Congressional Human Rights Foundation
Democracy After Communism Foundation (Budapest)
Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (Hungary); Hungarian Workers Council
East-West Pariamentary Practice Project (EWPPP)
Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats
Foreign Policy Research Institute
Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI)
Foundation for a Civil Society
Foundation for Education for Democracy
Foundation for School Development
Foundation in Support of Local Democracy
Foundation of Solidarity (Poland)
Free Trade Union Institute
German Marshall Fund
Harvard University
Hegeler Institute
Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace
Institute for Contemporary Studies
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE)
Institute for East - West Studies; Foundation for a Civil Society; The Information Center for Foundations
Institute for International Economics
Institute for Religion and Democracy
Institute of Public Administration
Institute of Sociology - Hungarian Academy of Sciences - Center for European Studies
International Foundation for Election Systems
International Law Institute
International Leadership Institute, Inc.
International Republican Institute
Libra Institute (Slovenia); International Republican Institute

Michigan State University
National Endowment for Democracy
National Forum Foundation
New Visions
Partners for Democratic Change
Partners for International Education and Training
Partners Hungary Foundation
State University of New York
Stefan Batory Foundation
Team Technologies, Inc.
University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)
University of Pittsburgh - International Management Development Institute at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (EDUCATION/TRAINING)

American University
Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA)
Central Connecticut State University
Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats
Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI)
Forum for Intercultural Communication; Foundation in Support of Local Democracy (Poland)
Forum of Non-Governmental Initiatives Office
Foundation for a Civil Society
Foundation for Education for Democracy
Foundation in Support of Local Democracy; Rutgers University
George Mason University
Greek Institute for International and Strategic Studies
Harvard University
Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace
Information and Advice Center for Disabled Persons of the CITON Foundation
Institute of Public Administration
International Centre for Minorities Studies and Intercultrural Relations
International City Management Associates
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)
Johns Hopkins University-Institute for Policy Studies
Local Democracy in Poland
Malapolska Education Society - Nowy Sacz Branch
Michigan State University
National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA)
National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA)
National Forum Foundation
New School for Social Research
New School for Social Research, East and Central Europe Program
Partners for International Education and Training
Polish-Czech-Slovak Solidarity Foundation
Syracuse University - Maxwell School
Team Technologies, Inc.
Union of Polish Towns and Cities
University of California, Berkeley
University of Pittsburgh- International Management Development Institute at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs
University of South Carolina - Institute of Public Affairs
William O. Douglas Enquiry

JUDICIARY DEVELOPMENT (TRAINING OF JUDGES)

American Bar Association (CEELI)

LAW/ACADEMIC TRAINING/LEGAL EDUCATION

American Bar Association (CEELI)
APADOR - Romanian Helsinki Committee
Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, Inc.
International Human Rights Law Group
International Law Institute
International Leadership Institute, Inc.
Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
Northeastern University School of Law
OECD
Palacky University, School of Law
Princeton University - Institute for Advanced Study
University of Maryland

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW/DRAFTING

American Bar Association - Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)
Deloitte & Touche
Foundation for a Civil Society
Northeastern University School of Law
OECD

LEGISLATIVE DRAFTING

American Bar Association (CEELI)
Center for the Study of Democracy
Chamber of Non-profit Human Services
Deloitte & Touche
Free Congress Research & Education Foundation, Inc.
Northeastern University School of Law
OECD

Appendix A

SOROS FOUNDATION PROGRAMS

Philanthropist George Soros has created and funds independent nonprofit foundations in 24 countries in Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, South Africa, and Haiti which share a common goal —the promotion of open societies. Toward this end, they administer several programs to aid the development of civil societies and democratic governments in the region. However, the exact nature of the programs differs from country to country, based on the national foundation's priorities as established by the Board of Directors and Staff. The following is a list of Soros Foundations in the Central and Eastern European region.

NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

Open Society Foundation–Albania

Rruga Mihal Duri, No. 15
Tirana Albania
Tel: (355-42) 34-223 or 34-621
Fax: (355-42) 34-223 or 34-621
Email: soros@osftr.soros.al
Avni Mustafaj, Executive Director

Open Society Fund–Bosnia & Herzegovina

Ferhadija 19/1
Sarajevo 71000, Bosnia & Herzegovina
Tel: (412) 873-4636
Fax: (412) 873-4639
Email: soros_sa@zamir-sa.ztn.zer.de
Mirsad Purivatra, Executive Director

Open Society Foundation–Sofia (Bulgaria)

1 Bulgaria Sq., NDK Office Bldg., 11th Fl.
POB 114
Sofia, Bulgaria 1463
Tel: (359-2) 658-177 or 52-30-52
Fax: (359-2) 658-276 or 49-21-097
Email: ososo@bgcict.bitnet
George Prohasky, Executive Director

Open Society Institute–Croatia

Hebrangova 21
Zagreb, Croatia 10000
Tel: (385-1) 455-5680, 455-5681 or 455-5682
Fax: (385-1) 417-476
Email: soros_zg@soroszg.ztn.apc.org
Karmen Basic, Executive Director

Open Society Fund–Prague (Czech Republic)
Starometske nam. 22
Prague 1, Czech Republic 110 01
Tel: (42-2) 24-22-74-56
Fax: (42-2) 24-22-74-51
Email: mkopecka@ecn.gn.apc.org
Marie Kopecka, Executive Director

Soros Foundation–Hungary
Bolyai u. 14
Budapest, Hungary H-1023
Tel: (36-1) 315-0303
Fax: (36-1) 315-0201
Email: h11692off@ella.hu
Eva Bakonyi, Executive Director

Open Society Institute–Macedonia
Ruzveltova 34, POB 378
Skopje, Macedonia 91000
Tel: (389-91) 364-070
Fax: (389-91) 361-401
Email: osi@soros.mk
Vladimir Milcin, Executive Director

Stefan Batory Foundation
ul. Flory 9 4th floor
Warsaw, Poland 00-586
Tel: (48-22) 48-80-55
Fax: (48-22) 49-35-61
Email: batory@batory.waw.pl
Jacek Wojnarowski, Executive Director

Soros Foundation for an Open Society–Bucharest
155 Cal. Victoriei, Bloc. D1, Et. 7, Sector 1
Bucharest, Romania 71102
Tel: (40-1) 659-7427, 659-0720, 312-9744
659-1321, 312-7052 or 650-6325
Fax: (40-1) 312-0284 or 312-7053
Email: programs@buc.soros.ro
Anca-Maria Harasim, Executive Director

Soros Foundation for an Open Society–Cluj
Str. Tibei nr. 21, P.O.B. 73
Cluj-Napoca, 3400 Romania
Tel: (40-64) 420-480
Fax: (40-64) 420-470
Email: office@cluj.soros.ro
Mr. Levente Salat, Branch Director

Soros Foundation for an Open Society–Timisoara
St. Semenic nr.10
Timisoara, 1900 Romania
Tel: (40-56) 199-960
Fax: (40-56) 192-493
Email: ilona@timis.soros.ro
Ms. Ilona Mihaes, Branch Director

Soros Foundation for an Open Society–Iasi
St. Moara de Foc, nr. 35, et. 7
P.O.B. 2-549
Iasi, 6600 Romania
Tel: (40-32) 252-920 or 252-922
Fax: (40-32) 252-926
Email: iasiall@iasi.soros.ro
Ms. Maria Scripa, Branch Director

Open Society Fund–Bratislava
Staromestska 6
Bratislava, Slovak Republic 811 03
Tel: (42-7) 5316-913 or 5314-730
Fax: (42-7) 5316-913 or 5314-730
Email: osf@osfba.sanet.sk
Ms. Alena Panikova, Executive Director

Open Society Fund–Slovenia
Vegova 8
Ljubljana, Slovenia 61 000
Tel: (386-61) 12-56-450 or 12-63-454
Fax: (386-61) 12-63-329
Email: info@mail.soros.si
Alja Brglez, Executive Director

Soros Yugoslavia Foundation—Belgrade
Tolstojeva 5
Belgrade, Yugoslavia 11000
Tel: (381-11) 660-937
Fax: (381-11) 669-683
Email: newsflash@soros.zer.de
Sonja Licht, President of the Executive Board
Slobodan Nakarada, Managing Director

REGIONAL PROGRAMS

In order to complement the programs of the national foundations, a number of regional programs have been established at the Open Society Institute–Budapest and the Open Society Institute–New York. These programs connect national foundation initiatives and help to assist in regional cooperation.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY (CEU)

Legal Studies Program

The Legal Studies program of the CEU examines legal traditions of both civil law (continental) and common law systems, with particular focus on Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The program attempts to sharpen participants' analytical skills, increase their awareness of the intricacies of constitutionalism and to foster an appreciation of human and minority rights issues.

CEU Legal Studies Program

Nador u. 9
1051 Budapest, Hungary
Tel: (36-1) 327-3000
Fax: (36-1) 327-3001

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–BUDAPEST

The Open Society Institute (OSI) - Budapest develops and implements regional programs and policy initiatives in the areas of education, economic, legal, and social reform in Central and Eastern Europe. Affiliated with OSI–Budapest are the Institute for Constitutional and Legislative Policy (COLPI) and the Institute for Local Government and Public Service (ILGPS).

COLPI was established to help countries in the region develop states based upon the rule of law. The Institute works with the national foundations, local nonprofit organizations, universities, government officials and other foreign assistance organizations to support institutions and processes that create and maintain effective and accountable government.

ILGPS assists the reform of local government and public service, emphasizing public administration education, and helps improve the quality of university administration. Ultimately the Institute hopes to improve the effectiveness of local governments and universities and enhance their ability to compete for resources.

Open Society Institute–Budapest

Oktober 6, u. 12
H-1050 Budapest, Hungary
Tel: (36-1) 327-3100
Fax: (36-1) 327-3101
Email: resource@osi.hu
Executive Director: Ms. Katalin Koncz

Institute for Constitutional and Legislative Policy (COLPI)

Oktober 6, u. 12
H-1051 Budapest, Hungary
Tel: (36-1) 327-3102
Fax: (36-1) 327-3103
Email: colpi@osi.hu
Stephen Holmes, General Counsel

Institute for Local Government and Public Service (ILGPS)

Oktober 6, u. 12
H-1051 Budapest, Hungary
Tel: (36-1) 327-3104
Fax: (36-1) 327-3105
Email: ilgps@osi.hu
Zoltan Szigethy, Executive Director

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–NEW YORK

The Open Society Institute (OSI) in New York assists the work of the national foundations in Central and Eastern Europe, promotes the development of open societies around the world and encourages public debate on policy alternatives in controversial fields. Notable among OSI's programs in the region is the East East Program, which encourages the exchange of ideas and open dialogue among institutions and individuals in Central and Eastern Europe.

Annual Reports and other information about the Soros Foundation network can be obtained from the publications department at OSI:

Open Society Institute

888 Seventh Avenue, 31st Floor
New York, NY 10106
Tel: (212) 757-2323
Fax: (212) 974-0367
Email: osnews@sorosny.org
Mr. George Soros, Chairman
Mr. Aryeh Neier, President

Appendix B

DEMOCRACY NETWORK

The Democracy Network program is a major new American initiative to support the development of indigenous nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) active in democratization, economic development, social sector restructuring and environmental protection. The Program's overall goal is to help build the tradition of participatory democracy in the region by improving the ability of the NGO community, as well as the citizens it represents to engage more actively in the political and economic life of their societies. The program is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).
The following organizations administer the USAID's Democracy Network Program in Central and Eastern Europe.

ALBANIA

ORT–Albania

Rruga Vaso Pasha 4
Tirana
Tel: (355-42) 23564
Fax: (355-42) 23564
Email: lisa@demnet.tirana.al
Contact: Ms. Lisa Davis

BULGARIA

Institute for Sustainable Communities (ISC)

47 Gurko St., 6th Floor
Sofia 1000
Tel: (359-2) 808-488
Fax: (359-2) 816-019
Email: isc@mbox.digsys.bg
Contact: Mr. Aaron Bornstein

CZECH REPUBLIC

Foundation for a Civil Society (FCS)

Jeleni 200/3
11800 Prague 1
Tel: (42-2) 2451-0873
Fax: (42-2) 4251-0875
Email: fcs@fcs.cz or julia@fcs.cz
Contact: Ms. Julia Szanton

ESTONIA

US-Baltic Foundation

Ruutli 6, Room 110
EE0101 Tallinn
Tel: (372-2) 602-533
Fax: (372-2) 602-075
Email: usbf@usbf.tallinn.ee
Contact: Ms. Ashley Owen

HUNGARY

United Way International - Budapest

Raoul Wallenberg u.4.II.1
1136 Budapest
Tel: (36-1) 302-2939
Fax: (36-1) 111-3811
Email: uwi@ind.eunet.hu
Contact: Ms. Maria Zam

LATVIA

US-Baltic Foundation

Doma Laukums (Square) 6, Room 540
LA1050 Riga
Tel: (371-7) 222-001
Fax: (371-7) 222-001
Email: usbflv@usbf.org.lv
Contact: Ms. Sanda Zvidra

LITHUANIA

US-Baltic Foundation

Jaksto 9., room 21
P.O. Box 1020
Vilnius 2600
Tel: (370-2) 627-675
Fax: (370-2) 627-675
Email: USBF@JULIUS.KTL.MII.LT
Contact: Ms. Vilija Jonkaityte

MACEDONIA

Institute for Sustainable Communities (ISC)

Nikola Vapcarov 7-1-9
91000 Skopje
Tel: (389-91) 117-680
Fax: (389-91) 114-855
Email: isc@informa.mk
Contact: Mr. Steve Nicholas

POLAND

Academy for Educational Development (AED)

Al. Roz 10 m.9
00-556 Warsaw
Tel: (48-22) 622-0122; 622-0209; 622-0208
Fax: (48-22) 621-8387
Email: aedwars@ikp.atm.com.pl
Contact: Mr. Michael Kott

ROMANIA

World Learning

Ion Calin 23, ap.2
Bucharest
Tel: (40-1) 210-3015
Fax: (40-1) 312-2004
Email: dnpromania@aol.com
Contact: Mr. Mark Parkinson

SLOVAKIA

Foundation for a Civil Society

V Zahradach 29/a
811 03 Bratislava
Tel: (42-7) 580-2491 or 580-2112
Fax: (42-7) 531 -622
Email: jan@fcs.sk or fcs@fcs.sk
Contact: Mr. Jan Surotchak

REGIONAL LEGAL PROGRAM

International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL)

1511 K St., NW, Suite 723
Washington D.C. 20005
Tel: (202) 624-0766
Fax: (202) 624-0767
Email: dcicnl@aol.com
Contact: Kent Sinclair

REGIONAL NETWORKING COMPONENT

National Forum Foundation - Budapest

Menesi ut 18
1118 Budapest
Hungary
Tel: (36-1) 185-0985; 185-3108
Fax: (36-1) 185-0985
Email: nff@nff.hu
Contact: Ms. Katharine Cornell Gorka

Appendix C

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY*

On US Government Assistance in Central and Eastern Europe

Bernstein, Carl "The Holy Alliance: How Reagan and the Pope conspired to assist Poland's Solidarity movement and hasten the demise of Communism," *Time Magazine*, February 24, 1992, pp.28-35.

Carothers, Thomas *Assessing Democracy Assistance: The Case of Romania* (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 1996).

Diamond, Larry *Promoting Democracy in the 1990s: Actors and Instruments, Issues and Imperatives* (1995: A Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, Carnegie Corporation of New York).

Lessons Learned & New Directions in Democracy Building: Nongovernmental Organization Development in Central & Eastern Europe, American Committee for Aid to Poland, Workshop Report, Lublin, Poland, November 8-12, 1993.

On US Private Assistance to Central and Eastern Europe After 1989

Beschel, Robert P. *Foundation Grantmaking Relating to Central Europe and the Soviet Union*, commissioned by The Ford Foundation, The Pew Charitable Trusts, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, January 1991.

A Compendium of U.S. Nonprofit Organizations Providing Voluntary Assistance to Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Citizens Democracy Corps, Washington, DC, 1991.

Greene, Stephen G. "*For U.S. Philanthropy, Opportunity in the Turmoil of Eastern Europe*, Chronicle of Philanthropy, Vol. II, No. 4, November 28, 1989.

* *The selected bibliography was compiled by Katharine Cornell Gorka, regional director of the National Forum Foundation's Budapest office.*

Howard, A.E. Dick *Democracy's Dawn: A Directory of American Initiatives on Constitutionalism, Democracy, and The Rule of Law in Central and Eastern Europe* (1991: The University Press of Virginia for the United States Institute of Peace).

Quigley, Kevin F. F. *Conversations on Democracy Assistance* (1996: East European Studies, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC).

Yancey, Jenny & Siegel, Daniel *The Rebirth of Civil Society: The Development of the Nonprofit Sector in East Central Europe and the Role of Western Assistance* (1992: The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, New York, NY).

On Nongovernmental Organizations in Central and Eastern Europe

Palmer, Tom G. *Philanthropy in Central and Eastern Europe: A Resource Book for Foundations, Corporations, and Individuals* (1991: The Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA).

Raising the Curtain: A Guide to Independent Organizations and Contacts in Eastern Europe (Seattle, WA: World Without War Council, 1990).

The number of active NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe now numbers a minimum of several hundred in such countries as Albania, to nearly 10,000 in countries such as Hungary and Poland. The most reliable and up-to-date listings of these organizations can be obtained from the local NGO resource centers in each country, all of which maintain databases or directories. For a list of these centers, contact the National Forum Foundation in Budapest, *Tel/Fax:* [36-1] 185-0985 or 185-3108, or by *Email:* nff@nff.hu